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THE
LIFE AND SYSTEM
OF
PESTALOZZI.

BY
KARL VON RAUMER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

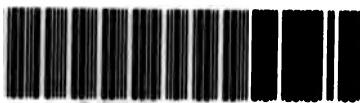
BY
J. TILLEARD.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS,
39, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1855.

Price Three Shillings.

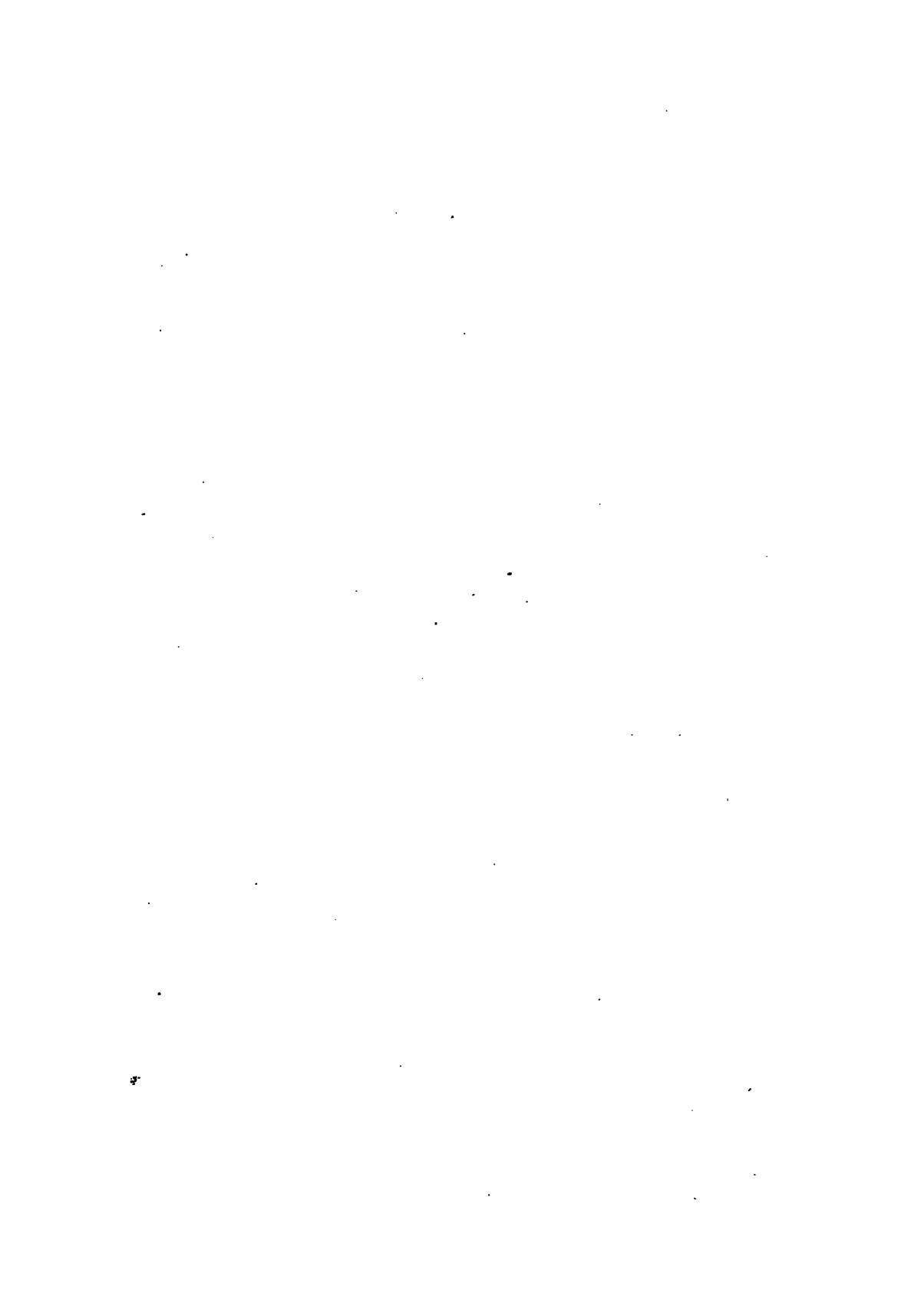
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J. ALFRED NOVELLO, PRINTER, DEAN STREET, SOHO, LONDON.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE following account of the life and system of Pestalozzi is translated from M. de Raumer's large work, "Geschichte der Pädagogik," of which it forms a section. That work is generally regarded as the best history of educational science which exists in the German language. The author is a man distinguished for his literary and scientific attainments, for the interest which he has always taken in the subject of education, and for the great amount of attention which he has given to the theory and practice of teaching. His merits in these respects appear to have recently raised him to the honorable office of Minister of Public Worship and Instruction in Prussia. He possessed a special qualification for writing the life of Pestalozzi, having resided for a considerable time in the Pestalozzian institution at Yverdun. He had thus ample opportunities for forming an independent opinion respecting Pestalozzi's management of the institution, the methods of instruction and discipline which were adopted by his assistants under his direction, the character and ability of these several assistants, and the merits of the unhappy disputes which arose among them, imbittering the days of the great educator and good man, and finally breaking up the institution.

M. de Raumer's detail of the events of Pestalozzi's life is believed to be the most accurate and faithful, his estimate of the genius and character of Pestalozzi the most unbiassed and truthful, that has appeared. In one very important respect, this biography differs from most of the others, both German and English, which have been written : Pestalozzi's other biographers, carried away by their admiration for him, have perhaps somewhat too implicitly accepted the practical parts of his method as applications of his principles; M. de Raumer has succeeded in showing that, in some cases, the actual method adopted was diametrically opposed to these principles, and has recommended educators to obtain their knowledge of Pestalozzi's great principles direct from his leading educational writings, as the fountain-head, and to seek to develop and apply them by their own methods, independently of those adopted by Pestalozzi himself.

Pestalozzi's leading educational writings M. de Raumer takes to be the "Evening Hour of a Hermit," "Leonard and Gertrude," and "How Gertrude teaches her Children."

It is to be regretted that, in this country, we do not possess complete translations of all these works. The Translator is not aware that a complete English translation of any one of them is *at present* procurable. He has ascertained that a translation of "Leonard and Gertrude" was published in this country some twenty or thirty years ago; but this seems to have suddenly disappeared: in all probability it fell dead on the market. A translation of the book, "How Gertrude teaches her Children," was announced by a certain publishing firm some years ago; but it does not seem to have made its appearance. We possess fragments of both these books in our language. Of the "Evening Hour of a Hermit," the Translator believes, the portions given in the following biography are the only ones that have ever been rendered into English, although the whole is but small. The Translator has already proceeded some way in translating "Leonard and Gertrude," which is perhaps Pestalozzi's greatest work, and certainly the one that has had the widest circulation and influence in Germany and Switzerland; and he is prepared to complete and publish the translation, whenever he believes that there exists an adequate demand for such a work.

It is proper to state that the following translation has already appeared in the *Educational Expositor*.

June 16, 1855.

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THE LIFE AND SYSTEM OR PESTALOZZI.

1. PESTALOZZI'S CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH.

1746—1767.

JOHN HENRY PESTALOZZI was born at Zurich on the 12th of January, 1746. His father was a medical practitioner; his mother, whose maiden name was Hotze, was a native of Wädenschwil on the Lake of Zurich, and first cousin to the Austrian general Hotze, who fell at Schännis in 1799.*

The father died prematurely, when Pestalozzi was only six years old; from this time forward, therefore, "everything was wanting, in the influences around him, which a manly education of the faculties so urgently requires at that age." "I was brought up," he relates, "by the hand of the best of mothers like a spoilt darling, such that you will not easily find a greater. From one year to another I never left the domestic hearth; in short, all the essential means and inducements to the development of manly vigor, manly experience, manly ways of thinking, and manly exercises, were just as much wanting to me, as, from the peculiarity and weakness of my temperament, I especially needed them."

This peculiarity, according to Pestalozzi's own statement, was, that with the most sensitive feelings and the liveliest imagination, he was deficient in the power of sustained attention, in reflection, circumspection, and foresight.

His mother devoted herself wholly to the education of her three children, in which she was assisted by a faithful servant-girl from the country, of the name of Babeli. Pestalozzi's father, on his death-bed, sent for this girl. "Babeli," said he, "for the sake of God and mercy, do not leave my wife; when I am dead, she will be forlorn, and my children will fall into strange and cruel hands." "I will not leave your wife when you die," replied Babeli; "I will remain with her till death, if she has need of me." Her words pacified the dying father; she kept her promise, and remained till her death with the mother. "Her great fidelity," Pestalozzi says, "was the result of her strong, simple, and pious faith." As the mother was in very straitened circumstances, Babeli economized wherever she could; she even restrained the children when they wanted to go into the street,

* Pestalozzi had a brother and a sister, who was married to Gross, a merchant of Leipzig.

or to any place where they had no business to go, with the words, "Why will you needlessly wear out your shoes and clothes? See how much your mother denies herself, in order to be able to give you an education; how for weeks and months together she never goes out anywhere, but saves every farthing for your schooling." Nevertheless, the mother was liberal in those expenses which respectability requires, nor did she let the children be without handsome Sunday clothes. These, however, they were allowed to wear but seldom, and they had to take them off again as soon as they came home.

"I saw the world," says Pestalozzi, "only within the narrow limits of my mother's parlour, and within the equally narrow limits of my schoolroom; to real human life I was almost as great a stranger, as if I did not live in the world in which I dwelt."

How different was Rousseau's childhood from that of Pestalozzi! The mother of the former died when he was born; his whimsical father appears to have had little affection for him. Pestalozzi, on the contrary, early loses his father; but there remains to him an affectionate mother, and the faithful, pious, homely Babeli. How these first impressions of childhood influence the whole life of the two men! Love remains the key-note of Pestalozzi's life till old age; his exaggerated veneration for mothers, his regard for the domestic hearth, flow from the piety of the mother's pet child. Of a mother's or a father's love Rousseau knows little or nothing, nothing of the sacredness of the domestic hearth; his own children he places in a foundling hospital; his Emilius experiences none of the warm and endearing love of a father and mother; as a poor substitute, he gives him a heartless tutor.

Pestalozzi's grandfather on the mother's side was minister at Höngg, a village three miles from Zurich. With him Pestalozzi spent several months every year, from the time when he was nine years old. The old man conscientiously cared for the souls of his flock, and thereby exercised a great influence upon the village school; his piety made a deep and lasting impression on his grandson.

Of his early school-days, Pestalozzi relates the following:—

"In all boys' games, I was the most clumsy and helpless among all my fellow-scholars, and nevertheless, in a certain way, I always wanted to excel the others. This caused some of them very frequently to pass their jokes upon me. One of them gave me the nickname 'Harry Whimsical of Foolstown.' Most of them, however, liked my good-natured and obliging disposition; though they knew my general clumsiness and awkwardness, as well as my carelessness and thoughtlessness in everything that did not particularly interest me.

"Accordingly, although one of the best pupils, I nevertheless committed, with incomprehensible thoughtlessness, faults of which not even the worst of them was ever guilty. While I generally seized with quickness and accuracy upon the essential matter of the subjects of instruction, I was very generally indifferent and thoughtless as to the forms in which it was given. At the same time that I was far behind my fellow-scholars in some parts of a subject, in other parts of the same subject I often surpassed them in an unusual degree. This is so true, that once, when one of my professors, who

had a very good knowledge of Greek, but not the least eloquence of style, translated and published some orations of Demosthenes, I had the boldness, with the limited school rudiments which I then possessed, to translate one of these orations myself, and to give it in, at the examination, as a specimen of my progress in this branch of study. A portion of this translation was printed in the Linden Journal, in connection with an article entitled 'Agis.' Just in the same manner as I made incomparably more progress in certain parts of my subjects of instruction than in others, so generally it was of far more importance to me to be sensibly affected by (I dare not say to understand thoroughly) the branches of knowledge which I was to learn, than to exercise myself in the means of practising them. At the same time, the *wish* to be acquainted with some branches of knowledge that took hold on my heart and my imagination, even though I neglected the means of acquiring them, was nevertheless enthusiastically alive within me; and, unfortunately, the tone of public instruction in my native town at this period was in a high degree calculated to foster this visionary fancy of taking an active interest in, and believing one's self capable of, the practice of things in which one had by no means had sufficient exercise, and this fancy was very prevalent among the youth of my native town generally." What a foreshadowing is Pestalozzi's childhood of the whole of his subsequent career!

Among Pestalozzi's teachers, there were three who exercised an influence upon him in his youth,—Bodmer, Breitinger, and Steinbrüchel. Bodmer was Professor of History from 1725 to 1775; he is known by his literary controversies with Gottsched and Lessing, his edition of the Minniesingers,* and his epic poem upon the Deluge. Breitinger, Professor of Greek and Hebrew from 1731 to 1776, edited the Septuagint. Steinbrüchel is described as a witty and learned man, but very much inclined to infidel "illumination." "Independence, freedom, beneficence, self-sacrifice, and patriotism, were the watchwords of our public education," says Pestalozzi. "But the means of attaining all this which was particularly commended to us—mental distinction—was left without solid and sufficient training of the practical ability which is its essential condition. We were taught, in a visionary manner, to seek for independence in an abstract acquaintance with truth, without being made to feel strongly what was essentially necessary to the security both of our inward and of our outward domestic and civil independence. The tone of the instruction which we received led us, with much vivacity and many attractive repre-

* Carlyle refers to Bodmer's edition of the Minniesingers in the first paragraph of his essay on the Nibelungen Lied:—

"In the year 1757, the Swiss Professor Bodmer printed an ancient poetical manuscript, under the title of *Chriemhilden Rache und die Klage* (*Chriemhilde's Revenge, and the Lament*); which may be considered as the first of a series, or stream of publications and speculations still rolling on, with increased current, to the present day. Not, indeed, that all these had their source or determining cause in so insignificant a circumstance; their source, or rather thousand sources, lay far elsewhere. As has often been remarked, a certain antiquarian tendency in literature, a fonder, more earnest looking back into the Past, began about that time to manifest itself in all nations (witness our own *Percy's Reliques*): this was among the first distinct symptoms of it in Germany; where, as with ourselves, its manifold effects are still visible enough."—Tr.

sentations, to be so short-sighted and inconsiderate as to set little value upon, and almost to despise, the external means of wealth, honor, and consideration. This was carried to such a length, that we imagined, while we were yet in the condition of boys, that, by a superficial school-acquaintance with the great civil life of Greece and Rome, we could eminently prepare ourselves for the little civil life in one of the Swiss cantons."

Pestalozzi further relates, that the appearance of the writings of Rousseau was a great means of keeping alive the errors into which the noble flight of true and patriotic sentiment had led the more distinguished of the young Swiss. "They had run," he says, "into one-sided, rash, and confused notions, into which Voltaire's seductive infidelity, being opposed to the pure holiness of religion, and to its simplicity and innocence, had helped to lead them. Out of all this," he tells us, "a new tendency was produced, which was totally inconsistent with the real welfare of our native town, constituted as it was according to the old-fashioned style of the imperial free cities, which was neither calculated to preserve what was good in the old institutions, nor to introduce any that were substantially better."

At this time, Pestalozzi's contemporary, Lavater, founded a league which Pestalozzi joined, being then a lad of fifteen. The young men who formed this league, with Lavater at their head, brought a public charge of injustice against Grebel, the governor of the canton, impeached the character of Brunner, the mayor of Zurich, and declared war against unworthy ministers of religion.

"The moment Rousseau's *Emile* appeared," says Pestalozzi, "my visionary and highly speculative mind was enthusiastically seized by this visionary and highly speculative book. I compared the education which I enjoyed in the corner of my mother's parlour, and also in the school which I frequented, with what Rousseau demanded for the education of his Emilius. The home as well as the public education of the whole world, and of all ranks of society, appeared to me altogether as a crippled thing, which was to find a universal remedy for its present pitiful condition in Rousseau's lofty ideas.

"The ideal system of liberty, also, to which Rousseau imparted fresh animation, increased in me the visionary desire for a more extended sphere of activity, in which I might promote the welfare and happiness of the people. Juvenile ideas as to what it was necessary and possible to do in this respect in my native town, induced me to abandon the clerical profession, to which I had formerly leaned, and for which I had been destined, and caused the thought to spring up within me, that it might be possible, by the study of the law, to find a career that would be likely to procure for me, sooner or later, the opportunity and means of exercising an active influence on the civil condition of my native town, and even of my native land."*

There was at this time a great controversy in the canton of Zurich, particularly between the town and the country. Pestalozzi had already as a boy, when living with his grandfather, the village pastor, won the

* Henning relates that Pestalozzi stuck several times in his first sermon, and did not say the Lord's Prayer correctly. This, he says, was another reason why Pestalozzi gave up theology.

affection of the people of the country, and might early have heard the complaint of the country clergy, *omne malum ex urbe.** A fierce hatred towards the aristocracy who oppressed the country people was kindled in his young heart, and even in old age it was not altogether extinguished. This warmth of anger co-existed in him with great warmth of love for the people; Göthe's saying—

“ Youth's wings should trim themselves for flight
Ere youthful strength be gone,
Thro' hate of wrong and love of right
To bear him bravely on.”†

characterizes not only the young Pestalozzi, but also the old man; it characterizes most of his writings.

Henning relates that Pestalozzi once told him, patriotism and the rights of the oppressed party had so powerfully agitated his breast in his youth, that he had thought upon all the means for their deliverance, and might easily have become the assassin of those who had appeared to him as despots.

He was seconded at this time by a friend of the name of Bluntschli, but a pulmonary complaint laid this young man upon his death-bed. He sent for Pestalozzi, and said to him, “ I die, and when you are left to yourself, you must not plunge into any career which, from your good-natured and confiding disposition, might become dangerous to you. Seek for a quiet, tranquil career; and unless you have at your side a man who will faithfully assist you with a calm dispassionate knowledge of men and things, by no means embark in any extensive undertaking whose failure would in any way be perilous to you.” An opinion of Pestalozzi's character which was strikingly confirmed by almost every subsequent event of his life.

Soon after his friend's death, Pestalozzi himself became dangerously ill, probably in consequence of his overstrained exertion in the pursuit of his legal and historical studies. His physicians advised him to give up scientific pursuits for a time, and to recreate himself in the country. This advice, which was strengthened by Rousseau's anti-scientific diatribes, Pestalozzi followed too faithfully. He renounced the study of books, burnt his manuscripts, went to his maternal relation, Dr. Hotze, at Richterswyl, and from thence to Kirchberg, in the canton of Bern, to Tschiffeli, a farmer of considerable reputation. From him Pestalozzi sought advice as to how he might best realize his plans for the country-people. “ I had come to him,” says Pestalozzi, “ a political visionary, though with many profound and correct attainments, views, and prospects in political matters; and I went away from him just as great an agricultural visionary, though with many enlarged and correct ideas and intentions in regard to agriculture. My stay with him only had this effect—that the gigantic views in relation to my exertions were awakened within me afresh by his agricultural plans, which, though difficult of execution, and in part impracticable, were bold and extensive; and that, at the same time, they caused me, in my thoughtlessness as to the means of carrying them out, to fall into a callousness, the consequences of which contributed in a decisive

* “ All harm comes from the town.”

† I am indebted to F. T. Palgrave, Esq., for the translation of this verse.—Tr.

manner to the pecuniary embarrassment into which I was plunged in the very first years of my rural life."

Tschiffeli's plantations of madder were exciting great attention at that time, and induced Pestalozzi to make a similar experiment. He learnt that near the village of Birr there was a large tract of barren chalky heath-land to be sold, which was only used for a sheep-walk. He joined a rich mercantile firm in Zurich and bought about 100 acres of this land, at the nominal price of ten florins. A builder erected for him, on the land he had purchased, a dwelling-house in the Italian style; Pestalozzi himself calls this an injudicious and imprudent step. To the whole estate he gave the name of Neuhof.

Among the friends of Pestalozzi's youth was Schulthess (the son of a wealthy merchant in Zurich), for whose beautiful sister, Anna Schulthess, Pestalozzi entertained an affection. A letter which he wrote to the beautiful maiden, gives us a profound insight into the workings of his heart, and even into his future life. In this letter he lays before her his hopes and resolutions, and also, with the utmost candor and with great self-knowledge, his faults. He thus writes:—

MY DEAR, MY ONLY FRIEND,

Our whole future life, our whole happiness, our duties towards our country and our posterity, and the security of virtue, call upon us to follow the only correct guide in our actions—Truth. I will, with all candor, make known to you the serious reflection I have had in these solemn days upon the relation subsisting between us; I am happy that I know before-hand, that my friend will find more true love in the calm truth of this contemplation, which so intimately concerns our happiness, than in the ardor of pleasant, but often not too wise, outpourings of a feeling heart, which I now with difficulty restrain.

Dear friend, first of all I must tell you that in future I shall but seldom dare to approach you. I have already come too frequently and too imprudently to your brother's house; I see that it becomes my duty to limit my visits to you; I have not the slightest ability to conceal my feelings. My sole art in this respect consists in fleeing from those who observe them; I should not be able to be in company with you for even half an evening, without its being possible for a moderately acute observer to perceive that I was in a disturbed state of mind. We know each other sufficiently, dear, to be able to rely upon mutual straightforward honesty and sincerity. I propose to you a correspondence in which we shall make our undisguised thoughts known to each other with all the freedom of oral conversation. Yes, I will open myself fully and freely to you; I will even now, with the greatest candor, let you look as deep into my heart as I am myself able to penetrate; I will show you my views in the light of my present and future condition, as clearly as I see them myself.

Dearest Schulthess, those of my faults which appear to me the most important in relation to the situation in which I may be placed in after-life, are improvidence, incautiousness, and a want of presence of mind to meet unexpected changes in my future prospects, whenever they may occur. I know not how far they may be diminished by my efforts to counteract them, by calm judgment and experience. At present, I have them still in such a degree, that I dare not conceal them from the maiden whom I love; they are faults, my dear, which deserve your fullest consideration. I have other faults, arising from my irritability and sensitiveness, which oftentimes will not submit to my judgment. I very frequently allow myself to run into excesses in praising and blaming, in my likings and dislikings; I cleave so strongly to many things which I possess, that the force with which I feel myself bound to them often exceeds the limits which reason assigns; when-

ever my country or my friend is unhappy, I am myself unhappy. Direct your whole attention to this weakness ; there will be times when the cheerfulness and tranquillity of my soul will suffer under it. If even it does not hinder me in the discharge of my duties, yet I shall scarcely ever be great enough to fulfil them, in such adverse circumstances, with the cheerfulness and tranquillity of a wise man, who is ever true to himself. Of my great, and indeed very reprehensible negligence in all matters of etiquette, and generally in all matters which are not in themselves of importance, I need not speak ; any one may see them at first sight of me. I also owe you the open confession, my dear, that I shall always consider my duties towards my beloved partner subordinate to my duties towards my country ; and that, although I shall be the tenderest husband, nevertheless I hold it to be my duty to be inexorable to the tears of my wife, if she should ever attempt to restrain me by them from the direct performance of my duties as a citizen, whatever this might lead to. My wife shall be the confidant of my heart, the partner of all my most secret counsels. A great and honest simplicity shall reign in my house. And one thing more. My life will not pass without important and very critical undertakings. I shall not forget the precepts of Menalk, and my first resolutions to devote myself wholly to my country ; I shall never, from fear of man, refrain from speaking, when I see that the good of my country calls upon me to speak : my whole heart is my country's ; I will risk all to alleviate the need and misery of my fellow-countrymen. What consequences may the undertakings to which I feel myself urged on, draw after them ; how unequal to them am I ; and how imperative is my duty to show you the possibility of the great dangers which they may bring upon me !

My dear, my beloved friend, I have now spoken candidly of my character and my aspirations. Reflect upon everything. If the traits which it was my duty to mention, diminish your respect for me, you will still esteem my sincerity, and you will not think less highly of me, that I did not take advantage of your want of acquaintance with my character, for the attainment of my inmost wishes. Decide now whether you can give your heart to a man with these faults and in such a condition, and be happy.

My dear friend, I love you so truly from my heart, and with such fervor, that this step has cost me much ; I fear to lose you, dear, when you see me as I am ; I had often determined to be silent ; at last I have conquered myself. My conscience called loudly to me, that I should be a seducer and not a lover, if I were to hide from my beloved a trait of my heart, or a circumstance, which might one day disgust her and render her unhappy ; I now rejoice at what I have done. If the circumstances into which duty and country shall call me set a limit to my efforts and my hopes, still I shall not have been base-minded, not vicious ; I have not sought to please you in a mask,—I have not deceived you with chimerical hopes of a happiness that is not to be looked for ; I have concealed from you no danger and no sorrow of the future ; I have nothing to reproach myself with.

2. AGRICULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIMENTS AT NEUHOF.

It was in the year 1767 that Pestalozzi removed to Neuhof. On the 24th of January, 1769, two years later, he married Anna Schulthess, being then only twenty-four years old. It was not long before troubles came upon the young married couple. The madder plantation did not prosper ; an assistant whom Pestalozzi had engaged caused himself to be hated by everybody ; the Zurich firm, which had advanced money to Pestalozzi, sent two competent judges to examine into the condition of the estate—both of them reported so unfavorably upon it, especially upon the buildings, that the firm preferred taking back their capital with

loss, to trusting it any longer in Pestalozzi's hands. "The cause of the failure of my undertaking," says he, "lay essentially and exclusively in myself, and in my pronounced incapacity for every kind of undertaking which requires eminent practical ability."

Notwithstanding the great distress into which he fell, he resolved not only to go on with farming, but to combine with it a school for poor children. "I wished," says he, "to make my estate a centre for my educational and agricultural labors. In spite of all difficulties, I wanted, like a visionary, to reach the highest point in every respect, at the same time that I lacked the faculties, abilities, and skill, from which alone can proceed a proper attention to the first and humblest beginnings and preparatory steps to the great things which I sought after. So great, so unspeakably great, in consequence of the peculiarity of my mind, was the contrast between what I wished to do and what I did and was able to do, which arose from the disproportion between my good-natured zeal, on the one side, and my mental impotency and unskilfulness in the affairs of life on the other."

By mental impotency, we must understand only a want of schooling or intellectual disciplining of the mind, for just at this time Pestalozzi's literary talent made itself known. He came forward with a plan for the establishment of the Poor School. His views and principles met with so much approbation in an economical point of view, in spite of the want of confidence in his practical ability, that he received offers of assistance from Zurich, Bern, and Basel, and many poor children were sent to him.

Thus began the Neuhof Poor School in the year 1775; it had soon fifty pupils. In the summer, the children were to be chiefly employed in field-work,—in winter, with spinning and other handicrafts. During the time that they were engaged in the handicrafts, Pestalozzi gave them instruction; exercises in speaking were predominant.

But no long time elapsed before the establishment declined; to which result many things contributed. The children, who were to earn their support by their work, were, although beggar children, spoilt and full of demands. Their parents, who every Sunday besieged Neuhof, confirmed them in this, and also ran off with them as soon as they had got new clothes. None of the authorities protected Pestalozzi against this misconduct, from which the farming suffered a great deal. "But these difficulties," says Pestalozzi, "might gradually have been more or less overcome, if I had not sought to carry out my experiment on a scale that was quite disproportioned to my strength, and had not, with almost incredible thoughtlessness, wanted to convert it, in the very beginning, into an undertaking which presupposed a thorough knowledge of manufactures, men, and business, in which I was deficient in the same proportion as they were rendered necessary to me by the direction which I now gave my undertaking. I, who so much disapproved of the hurrying to the higher stages of instruction, before a thorough foundation had been laid in the elementary steps of the lower stages, and looked upon it as the fundamental error in the education of the day, and who also believed that I was myself endeavouring with all my might to counteract it in my plan of education, allowed myself to be carried away by illusions of the greater remunerativeness of the higher branches of industry, without knowing even remotely either them or the means of learning and introducing them, and to commit the very faults in teaching my school-children

spinning and weaving which, as I have just said, I so strongly reprobated and denounced in the whole of my views on education, and which I considered dangerous to the domestic happiness of all classes. I wanted to have the finest thread spun, before my children had gained any steadiness or sureness of hand in spinning even the coarser kinds, and, in like manner, to make muslin fabrics, before my weavers had acquired sufficient steadiness and readiness in the weaving of common cotton goods. Practised and skilful manufacturers ruin themselves by such preposterous conduct,—how much more certain to be ruined by such conduct was I, who was so blind in the discernment of what was necessary to success, that I must distinctly say, that whoever took but a thread of mine into his hand was at once in a position to cause half of its value to vanish for me! Before I was aware of it, too, I was deeply involved in debt, and the greater part of my dear wife's property and expectations had in an instant, as it were, gone up in smoke. Our misfortune was decided. I was now poor. The extent and rapidity of my misfortune was owing to this among other causes—that, in this undertaking, as in the first, I readily, very readily, received an unquestioning confidence. My plan soon met with a degree of confidence which an attentive consideration of my former conduct would have shown that which I did not merit in the present undertaking. After all the experience they had had of my errors in this respect, people still did not think the extent of my incapacity for everything practical was so great as it really was. I even yet enjoyed for a while, to all appearance, an extensive confidence. But when my experiment went rapidly to wreck, as it necessarily did, this feeling changed, in my neighbourhood, into just as inconsiderate a degree of the contrary, into a totally blind abandonment of even the last shadow of respect for my endeavours, and of belief in my fitness for the accomplishment of any part of them. It is the course of the world, and it happened to me as it happens to every one who thus becomes poor through his own fault. Such a man generally loses, together with his money, the belief and the confidence in what he really is and is able to do. The belief in the qualifications which I really had for attaining my objects was now lost, along with the belief in those which, erring in my self-deception, I gave myself credit for, but which I really had not."

Thus it happened, that in the year 1780 Pestalozzi was obliged to break up the establishment at Neuhof, after it had been five years in operation. His situation was frightful. Frequently in his only too elegant country-house he wanted money, bread, fuel, in order to protect himself against hunger and cold. His faithful wife, who had pledged nearly the whole of her property for him, fell into a severe and tedious illness. "My friends," relates Pestalozzi, "now only loved me without hope; in the whole circuit of the surrounding district it was everywhere said that I was a lost man, that nothing more could be done for me."

3. THE EVENING HOUR OF A HERMIT.

1780.

The breaking up of the establishment at Neuhof was a fortunate thing for Pestalozzi—and for the world. He was no longer to fritter away his strength in efforts to which he was not equal. And, nevertheless, his severe mental and physical labor was not to have been in

vain, but was to bear precious fruits. As the first of these fruits, there appeared in 1780 a paper of his, brief but full of meaning, in Iselin's Ephemerides, under the title, The Evening Hour of a Hermit. It contains a series of aphorisms, which nevertheless are cast in one mould, and stand among one another in the closest connection. Fruits of the past years of Pestalozzi's life, they are at the same time seeds of the following years, programme and key to his educational labors. "Iselin's Ephemerides," he writes in 1801, alluding to this Evening Hour, "bear witness, that the dream of my wishes is not more comprehensive now, than it was when at that time I sought to realize it."

It is scarcely possible to make a selection from these concise and thought-teeming aphorisms, the more so because they form, as I have said, a beautiful and ingenious whole, which suffers in the selection. Nevertheless, I will run the risk of selecting some of the principal thoughts.

The paper begins with melancholy seriousness. "Pastors and teachers of the nations, know you man; is it with you a matter of conscience to understand his nature and destiny?

"All mankind are in their nature alike, they have but *one* path to contentment. The natural faculties of each one are to be perfected into pure human wisdom. This general education of man must serve as the foundation to every education of a particular rank.

"The faculties grow by exercise.

"The intellectual powers of children must not be urged on to remote distances before they have acquired strength by exercise in things near them.

"The circle of knowledge commences close around a man, and from thence stretches out concentrically.

"Real knowledge must take precedence of word-teaching and mere talk.

"All human wisdom is based upon the strength of a good heart, obedient to truth. Knowledge and ambition must be subordinated to inward peace and calm enjoyment.

"As the education for the closest relations precedes the education for more remote ones, so must education in the duties of members of families precede education in the duties of citizens. But nearer than father or mother is God, 'the closest relation of mankind is their relation to Him.'*

"Faith in God is 'the confiding childlike feeling of mankind towards the paternal mind of the Supreme Being.' This faith is not the result and consequence of cultivated wisdom, but is purely an instinct of simplicity; a childlike and obedient mind is not the consequence of a finished education, but the early and first foundation of human culture. Out of the faith in God springs the hope of eternal life. 'Children of God are immortal.'

"Belief in God sanctifies and strengthens the tie between parents and children, between subjects and rulers; unbelief loosens all ties, annihilates all blessings.

"Sin is the source and consequence of unbelief, it is acting contrary to the inward witness of right and wrong, the loss of the childlike mind towards God.

* *Deus interior intimo*, says St. Augustine.

"Freedom is based upon justice, justice upon love, therefore freedom also is based upon love."

"Justice in families, the purest, most productive of blessings, has love for its source."

Pure childlike feeling is the true source of the freedom that is based upon justice, and pure paternal feeling is the source of all power of governing that is noble enough to do justice and to love freedom. And the source of justice and of all worldly blessings, the source of the love and brotherly feeling of mankind towards one another, this is based upon the great thought of religion, that we are children of God, and that the belief in this truth is the sure ground of all worldly blessings. In this great thought of religion lies ever the spirit of all true state-policy that seeks only the blessing of the people, for all inward power of morality, enlightenment and worldly wisdom, is based upon this ground of the belief of mankind in God; and ungodliness, misapprehension of the relation of mankind as children to the Supreme Being, is the source which dissolves all the power with which morals, enlightenment, and wisdom, are capable of blessing mankind. Therefore the loss of this childlike feeling of mankind towards God is the greatest misfortune of the world, as it renders impossible all paternal education on the part of God, and the restoration of this lost childlike feeling is the redemption of the lost children of God on earth.

"The Son of God, who with suffering and death has restored to mankind the universally lost feeling of filial love towards God, is the Redeemer of the World, He is the sacrificed Priest of the Lord, He is Mediator between God and sinful mankind. His doctrine is pure justice, educative national philosophy; it is the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children."

Much might be said upon these aphorisms; each is a text for a discourse; indeed, Pestalozzi's life is a paraphrase in facts of these texts. We must accuse human weakness, if the realization of his great anticipations henceforward also turns out but miserably, nay, only too often stands in the most glaring contradiction with them. The plan of an inventive builder however retains its value, if even the builder himself lack the skill to carry out the building according to the plan.

Rousseau's *Emile* appeared eighteen years before Pestalozzi's Evening Hour; in what relation does Rousseau stand to Pestalozzi? In particular points they frequently agree. Like Pestalozzi, Rousseau requires real knowledge and trained skill in the business of life, not an empty display of words, without an insight into the things themselves, and a ready power of acting. Like Pestalozzi, Rousseau also ridicules the plan of giving children a discursive knowledge about things remote, and leaving them in ignorance of the things in their immediate vicinity; he requires, like Pestalozzi, that they should first be at home in this vicinity.

In this manner many other things might be pointed out in which both men agree, arising principally from their common aversion to a baseless, dead talkativeness, without any real intelligence, activity of mind, or readiness of action. But when viewed more closely, how immensely different are the two men in all that is most essential!

Rousseau will not have God named before children; he is of opinion

that long physical and metaphysical study is necessary to enable us to think of God. With Pestalozzi, God is the nearest, the most intimate being to man, the Alpha and Omega of his whole life. Rousseau's God is no paternal God of love, his Emile no child of God. The man who put his children into a foundling-hospital knew nothing of paternal and filial love; still less of rulers as the fathers of the nations, and of the childlike obedience of subjects; his ideal was a cold, heartless freedom, which was not based upon love, but was defensive, isolating, and altogether selfish.

While, therefore, according to Pestalozzi, the belief in God penetrates, strengthens, attunes, sanctifies all the relations of men; while the relations between ruler and subjects, between fathers and children, and the paternal love of God to his children, men, are everywhere reflected in his paper—with Rousseau there is never any mention of such bonds of love.

But how does Pestalozzi's view, as exhibited in the Evening Hour, stand related to the Christian doctrine? This important question I shall endeavour to answer in the sequel.

4. LEONARD AND GERTRUDE.

1781.

A year after the publication of the Evening Hour, namely, in 1781, appeared the first part of that work of Pestalozzi's which established his reputation, which exercised an extensive and wholesome influence at the time, and which will continue to exercise an influence in future. That work is "Leonard and Gertrude: A Book for the People."

The origin of this highly important book is so remarkable, that I must give it as it is related by Pestalozzi himself.

At the time of his greatest misfortunes, when he was compelled to give up the Neuhof Poor School, he still had a true friend in the bookseller, Füssli, of Zurich. "This person told me frankly," relates Pestalozzi, "that my old friends looked upon it as almost settled, that I should end my days in a workhouse or a lunatic asylum." "This amiable friend took a deep and heartfelt interest in my fate," continues Pestalozzi, "and in the very room in which he told me this there happened at the same period a circumstance which suddenly appeared likely to bring about an improvement in my pecuniary state, and a termination to the mournful condition of my family. Füssli was a true friend of the absence of pretension which characterized the citizens in former times, and even of the obsolete remains of the simplicity of antiquity in the forms of the civic service; and the crooked watchmen before the Council House and under the gates were just about to be transformed into a shape suited to the fashionable republican government notions of the civil service which were then springing up. This innovation had an intimate connection with the awakening fashionable spirit of military pomp without military power, and was supported by persons of influence, who took more pleasure in the drawing up of idle burghers and peasant soldiers on parade, and could better judge of and estimate higher their decorum and pomp, than the value of the industry and the honor of citizens, from which proceeded the domestic happiness of our native town in former days, and which in antiquity

prevailed universally for centuries. This measure, when it was carried out, displeased very many citizens who were of an old-fashioned way of thinking, and among others myself. In a playful moment, I put together a short composition turning this innovation into ridicule, which happened to be lying on Füssli's table when he was talking with his brother, the painter, who, as far as I know, is now living in London,* where he is held in great esteem, about my sad fate, and lamenting that he knew of no means of helping me out of my present situation, considering the sort of man I was, and the manner in which I acted. Just at this instant the painter took up the squib upon the transformation of the crooked, dusty, and uncombed town-watchmen under our gates, into straight, combed, and trim ones, read it through several times, and then said to his brother, 'This man can help himself to any extent he pleases; he has talent for writing in a style which at the time in which we live will most certainly excite interest; encourage him to do so, and tell him on my part, that he can most certainly help himself as an author, if he only will.' My friend sent for me on the spot, and was overjoyed while he told me this, and added, 'I cannot conceive at all how it was possible that this should not have struck me.' I felt as if he were telling me a dream. In the pressure of events, I had so neglected my own improvement, that I could scarcely write a line without committing grammatical errors; and in spite of all that Füssli said, I thought myself quite incapable of such work. But necessity, which is so often said to be a bad counsellor, was now a good one to me. Marmontel's *Cortes moraux* were lying on my table when I came home; I immediately took them up, and asked myself the distinct question, whether it might be possible for me to do anything of the kind, and after I had read a few of these tales, and read them again, it appeared to me that, after all, this might not be altogether impossible. I attempted five or six similar little stories, of which all I know is that no one of them pleased me; the last was Leonard and Gertrude, whose history flowed from my pen, I know not how, and developed itself of its own accord, without my having the slightest plan in my head, and even without my thinking of one. In a few weeks, the book stood there, without my knowing exactly how I had done it. I felt its value, but only as a man in his sleep feels the value of some piece of good fortune of which he is just dreaming. I scarcely knew that I was awake, and yet a new ray of hope began to dawn upon me, when I thought that it might be possible in this walk to better my pecuniary condition, and to make it more supportable to my family. I showed my attempt to a friend of Lavater's, who was also a friend of mine. This person thought it interesting, but said, however, that the book could not be printed in its present state; it was insufferably incorrect and unpolished, and would gain much from the revision of a man who had practice in writing, adding that, if I was agreeable, he would put it into the hands of a friend whom he thought very fit for the task. With as little pretension as a child, I replied that I was quite agreeable, and forthwith handed over to him the first three or four sheets of the manuscript for such revision. But what was my astonishment, when he returned three sheets to me together with the revised version!

* Where he attained celebrity under the Italianized name of *Fuseli*.—T.B.

It was a regular piece of divinity student's work, which changed the plain picture of the real peasant life, as it was simply and artlessly pourtrayed by me from nature in its naked but true shape, into affected forms of art, and made the peasants in the inn speak a stiff pedagogue's language which did not leave behind so much as a shadow of the peculiarity of my book. This did not by any means please me. The friend who had given the young man this commission was now ashamed of the result himself, and I declined the further revision of my manuscript. I was determined, at all events, not to let it go forth to the world mutilated from my original, as it came before me in this revised version, and I made up my mind that I would go to Basel in the course of a few days to see the Recorder Iselin, with whom, as a member of the Helvetic Society, I had become acquainted at Schinznach, and whom I very highly esteemed, and consult him about everything relating to my book, and the mode in which it was to be brought out. I directed my attention to him in this matter especially because I was sure that, in judging of the tone of my book, he would be less disposed to take contracted views than I foresaw and had to fear that most of my remaining friends would. But his opinion and his conduct exceeded all my expectations. The impression which it made upon him was quite extraordinary. He said directly, 'There is nothing like it of its kind, and the views which pervade it are an urgent necessity of our time; the want of orthographical accuracy,' he added, 'can easily be rectified,' and he at once undertook to see to this himself, as also to take steps for the publication of the book, and for the payment to myself of a fitting remuneration on account of it. He added, however, in reference to the latter point, 'It will probably not be considerable, because you are new as an author, and have as yet no name.' And he immediately wrote to Decker in Berlin, who payed me a louis d'or per sheet, but promised at the same time, that, if the sale of the work should render a second edition necessary, he would pay me the same again. I was unspeakably satisfied. A louis d'or per sheet was to me much, very much, in the circumstances in which I then was. The book appeared, and excited quite a remarkable degree of interest in my own country and throughout the whole of Germany. Nearly all the journals spoke in its praise, and, what is perhaps still more, nearly all the almanacs became full of it; but the most unexpected thing to me was that, immediately after its appearance, the Agricultural Society of Bern awarded me their great gold medal, with a letter of thanks. Pleased as I was with the medal, and glad as I should have been to keep it, I was nevertheless obliged to part with it in my then situation, and sold it some weeks after for its value in money at a goldsmith's."

Pestalozzi himself has repeatedly spoken of the character and object of Leonard and Gertrude. In the preface to the first edition of the work, he says: "In that which I here relate, and which I have for the most part seen and heard myself in the course of an active life, I have even taken care not once to add my own opinion to what I saw and heard *the people themselves feeling, judging, believing, speaking, and attempting*. And now this will show itself:—If the results of my observation are true, and if I gave them as I received them, and as it is my aim to do, they will find acceptance with all those who themselves have daily before their eyes the things which I relate. If,

however, they are incorrect, if they are the work of my imagination and the preaching of my own opinions, they will, like other Sunday sermons, vanish on the Monday."* In the preface to the second edition, Pestalozzi gives as the object of the book, "To bring about a better popular education, based upon the true condition of the people and their natural relations." "It was," he says, "my first word to the heart of the poor and destitute in the land. It was my first word to the heart of those who stand in God's stead to the poor and destitute in the land. It was my first word to the mothers in the land, and to the heart which God gave them, to be to theirs what no one on earth can be in their stead."

"I saw the misery of the people," says Pestalozzi in another place. "The book which my sense of this condition extorted from my innocence, Leonard and Gertrude, was a work of my inward helplessness, and stood there among my contemporaries like a stone that speaks of life and is dead."

"I desired nothing, and to-day (1800) I desire nothing else, as the object of my life, but the welfare of the people, whom I love, and whom I feel to be miserable as few feel them to be miserable, having with them borne their sufferings as few have borne them."

The remarks which I have cited characterize the soul of Leonard and Gertrude. In the severe years of suffering at Neuhof, Pestalozzi appeared to have wrought and suffered in vain. "To the accomplishment of my purpose," he says, "there stood opposed my entire want of trained practical skill, and a vast disproportion between the extent of my will and the limits of my ability."

He did not work in vain, however; what was denied him on the one side turned out to his advantage on the other. If he lacked all skill in carrying out his ideas, he possessed on the other hand, in the highest degree, the faculty of observing, comprehending, and pourtraying character. If he was not able to exhibit to the world his ideal realized, it was given to him to infuse the loving desires of his heart into the hearts of others, by means of his talent of poetical delineation. He might hope that men of practical ability would be among the readers of his book, and would be incited by it to realize what he only knew how to picture. He has found such readers.† Leonard and Gertrude is in so many hands, that it is almost superfluous to give a selection from the work. Only this. The principal person in it is Gertrude, the wife of Leonard, a good-natured but rather weak man, whose stay and guardian she is. The manner in which she keeps house and instructs and trains her children, is Pestalozzi's ideal. Such house-keeping, such a manner of instructing and training, he desires for all people. Gertrude is consulted even in the management of the village school. Her house-keeping is the bright side of the circum-

* Anxious ministers of the gospel said, in reports upon the state of Communes, that the observations which they had made entirely agreed with the pictures which Pestalozzi gives of the state of the villages. The Bavarian authorities were right, therefore, in recommending Leonard and Gertrude to clergymen and schoolmasters.

† Henning relates that Leonard and Gertrude had been translated into Danish; and that nobles, and among others the Countess Schimmelman, had been induced by the book to adopt measures in their villages for the amelioration of the condition of their peasantry.

stances depicted ; in contrast with her is a terribly dark side, a peasant community in the deepest depravity. It is related what Arner, the equally benevolent and intelligent lord of the village, does to check the depravity.

Pestalozzi wished to give the people the knowledge and skill needful for them chiefly by means of a good elementary instruction. If this instruction began at the right place, and proceeded properly, what an entirely different race would arise out of the children so instructed, a race made independent by intelligence and skill ! What increased strength would a people renewed by this means acquire, to cope with their oppressors, the aristocrats, and even to out-bid the superficially educated ! *

In vain, however, did Pestalozzi look around him for elementary teachers who could and would instruct after his manner and in his spirit. Seminaries, too, were wanting in which such teachers could be trained. Then the thought occurred to him who had grown up in his mother's parlour : " I will place the education of the people in the hands of the mothers ; I will transplant it out of the schoolroom into the parlour." Gertrude was to be the model of mothers. But how are the mothers in the lower classes to be qualified for instructing ?—We shall see how Pestalozzi's Compendiums are meant to be an answer to this question, to supply the place of knowledge and teaching talent. The mothers have only to keep strictly to these books in the instruction of their children ; if they do this, the mother of the most limited capacity will instruct just as well as the most talented ; compendiums and method are to equalize their minds : such was Pestalozzi's idea, to which I shall afterwards come back.

With extreme short-sightedness, the persons in immediate intercourse with Pestalozzi saw in this book of his dearly-bought experience nothing more than a proof that its author was born for novel-writing, and would in future be able to earn his bread by it.

Others understood better the value of the book. Karl von Bonstetten entreated Pestalozzi to come and live with him on his estate in Italian Switzerland ; the Austrian Minister of Finance, Count Zinzendorf, wished to have him in his neighbourhood. Subsequently, he became known, through Count Hohenwart, in Florence, to the Grand Duke Leopold of Tuscany, who was about to give him an appointment, when he was called by the death of Joseph II. to the imperial throne of Germany, and the appointment was therefore not made. If it be asked whether he would have been of any use in a post of importance, a word of Lavater's upon this subject may contain the answer. Pestalozzi, tells us : " He once said to my wife, ' If I were a prince, I would consult Pestalozzi in everything that concerns the people and the improvement of their condition, but I would never trust him with a farthing of money.' At another time, he said to myself, ' When I only once see a line of yours without a mistake, I will believe you capable of much, very much, that you would like to do and to be.' "

* In these sentiments, it should be remembered, we have a German's opinion on Germany.—Tz.

5. PESTALOZZI'S LIFE AND WRITINGS BETWEEN 1781 AND 1798.

For seventeen years after the publication of Leonard and Gertrude, Pestalozzi continued to drag on his needy and depressed existence at Neuhof, where he spent altogether thirty years. Of his outward life during those seventeen years, we learn little else, besides the general fact just stated. It is worthy of mention, that in this period he entered the order of Illuminati, an order which was characterized by infidelity, exaggerated ideas of enlightenment, and destructive but not reconstructive principles, and that he even became eventually the head of the order in Switzerland. He soon discovered his mistake, however, and withdrew from it. "That which is undertaken by associations," he says, "usually falls into the hands of intriguers."

In this period he wrote several books.

In the year 1782, he published "Christopher and Alice." He himself relates the origin of this work. People had imbibed from Leonard and Gertrude the idea, that all the depravity among the common people proceeded from the subordinate functionaries in the villages. "In Christopher and Alice," says Pestalozzi, "I wished to make apparent to the educated public the connexion of those causes of popular depravity which are to be found higher in the social scale, but which on this account are also more disguised and concealed, with the naked, undisguised, and unconcealed causes of it, as they are manifested in the villages in the persons of the unworthy functionaries. For this purpose, I made a peasant family read together Leonard and Gertrude, and say things about the story of that work, and the persons introduced in it, which I thought might not occur of themselves to everybody's mind."

So says Pestalozzi in the year 1826; but he spoke otherwise in the preface to the book when it first appeared, in 1782. "Reader!" he says, "this book which thou takest into thy hand is an attempt to produce a manual of instruction for the use of the universal school of humanity, the parlour. I wish it to be read in every cottage."

This wish was not accomplished, as we learn from the preface to the second edition (1824), which commences thus, "This book has not found its way at all into the hands of the people. In my native land, even in the canton of my native town, and in the very village in which I once lived, it has remained as strange and unknown, as if it had not been in existence."

This fact fully shows that in this book Pestalozzi did not hit the popular tone.* Particular passages in it are excellent; thus the picture of the old and the new time, the attack directed against contempt of the Bible, and other passages. Especially worthy of notice is the decision with which the ardent man speaks against all revolutionizing, ay even against the revolt of the old Swiss; it is as if one heard Luther. "We thank God," he says, "for the results which have flowed from the fidelity and courage of the founders of our freedom. But a particular act in their conduct, which was a consequence of the remarkably desperate condition of their unhappy country, can in no case,

* There occur in it such expressions as, *empiricism*, *rhodomontade*, *per fas et nefas*, &c., to say nothing of much reasoning that is far too subtle, and much wit that is far too refined.

whatever blessed effects it may have had, be regarded as the criterion of the legality of any political act at the present day. We may assume it as unconditionally true, and history plainly shows it to be so, that our forefathers exhausted every means of winning by humility, patience, and loyalty the hearts of the governors who so abused their power, before they resolved upon a measure of self-redress. But as we ought to pray to God that no nation may sink into this unhappy condition, so we ought to bear in mind, at the same time, that the example of self-redress exhibited by our forefathers is by no means sufficient to authorize any man to expose his country, whatever may be the circumstances in which it is placed, to those dangers which are necessarily attendant upon every attempt at such self-redress, and under which our country must have succumbed, if God's providence had not preserved us from them in a wonderful manner. Or who has ever taken the balance into his hand, weighed one scale against the other, and pointed out the case where right and justice, where wisdom and humanity, and where the country's interest and necessity, allow and require that a man shall take up the sword against the tyrant of his country and slay him? I, for my part, lay my hand upon my mouth, and am silent. But, God be praised, the time of clublaw and rude barbarism, in which the most lawless acts of violence, both of high against low and low against high, were made to appear lawful and right, is past. God be praised! the voice of humanity, wisdom, and love, which speaks in the divine words, 'Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword'—is in our civilized world, in spite of its unhappily increasing weakness and just as unhappily increasing errors, everywhere more and more widely felt. Even our weaknesses and errors contribute to make these divine words of love more and more acknowledged and felt among us. The propensity to violence is fearful and terrible even in the individual man; when it has entered the minds of multitudes and masses of men collectively, it is horrible and appalling."

In the same year, 1782, and the one following, Pestalozzi edited "A Swiss Journal," of which a number appeared every week. In this journal, he communicated, among other things, memoirs of deceased friends. Thus he wrote the memoirs of Frölich, the pastor of Birr, who had died young. Pestalozzi says of him, "He dedicated himself to the work of the great divine calling, but eternal love dedicated him to the liberty of eternal life." The way in which he speaks of the excellent Iselin, who had died in 1782, is particularly affecting. "I should have perished in the depths into which I had fallen," he says, "if Iselin had not raised me up. Iselin made me feel that I had done something, even in the Poor School."*

The discourse "on Legislation and Infanticide" also appeared in 1782.

About 1783, Pestalozzi contemplated the establishment of a lunatic asylum and a reformatory institution, and wrote upon the subject; the manuscript, however, was lost.

In the years between 1780 and 1790, "in the days of the approaching French revolution, and in the first symptoms of the dangers which

* Unfortunately, I do not possess a copy of the Swiss Journal, and only quote from the biographies of Henning and Heusler.

its influence on Switzerland might entail,"* he wrote "The Figures to my ABC-Book;" they were not published, however, till 1795: a new edition, under the title of "Fables," came out in 1805. They relate principally to the condition of Switzerland at that time.†

In 1798 appeared Pestalozzi's "Researches into the Course of Nature in the Development of the Human Race." He says himself, speaking of this book, "I wrought at it for three long years with incredible toil, chiefly with the view of clearing up my own mind upon the tendency of my favorite notions, and of bringing my natural feelings into harmony with my ideas of civil rights and morality. But this work too is, to me, only another evidence of my inward helplessness, the mere play of my powers of research; my views were altogether one-sided, while I was without a proportionate degree of control over myself in regard to them, and the work was left void of any adequate effort after practical excellence, which was so necessary for my purpose. The disproportion between my ability and my views only increased the more. The effect of my book upon those by whom I was surrounded was like the effect of all that I did; scarcely any one understood me, and I did not find in my vicinity two men who did not half give me to understand that they looked upon the entire book as so much balderdash."

Others have bestowed high praise upon these Researches.

One of Pestalozzi's biographers says that the Evening Hour of a Hermit is written in oracular sentences. I could feel myself tempted, with reference to this, to apply to Pestalozzi what Plato says in Phædrus of the prophetess at Delphi and the priestesses at Dodona: "In their madness, they have done many glorious services for Greece, both privately and publicly, but in their sober senses, little or nothing."

In my opinion, the oracular sentences of the Evening Hour stand high above the elaborate thought of the Researches, which thought, as it appears to me, has by no means succeeded in attaining its object, either as regards the clearness of separate ideas, or the unity of the whole. At times you think you hear Rousseau; then Christian tones are heard through the rest; the highest ideal appears, by anticipation, to be that of Fichte.‡

Pestalozzi here assumes three states of man: an original, instinct-like, innocent, *animal* state of nature, out of which he passes into the social state (this reminds us of Rousseau); he works himself out of the social state and raises himself to the moral. The social man is in an unhappy middle condition between animal propensities and moral elevation.

The original animal state of nature cannot be pointed to in any one individual man; the innocence of that state ceases with the first cry of the new-born child, and "animal depravity arises from whatever stands opposed to the normal condition of our animal existence." Against

* Pestalozzi's words in the preface to the "Figures."

† In the summer of 1792, he went to Germany, at the invitation of his sister in Leipzig, and became acquainted with Göthe, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, and Jacobi; he also visited several normal schools.

‡ Fichte was a German Idealist philosopher, who taught towards the beginning of the present century.—TR.

this depravity, man seeks for aid in the social state, but finds it not ; it is only the moral will that can save him, "the force of which he opposes to the force of his nature. He *will* fear a God, in order that the animal instincts of his nature shall not degrade him in his inmost soul. He feels what he can do in this respect, and then he makes what he can do the law to himself of what he ought to do. Subjected to this law, *which he imposes upon himself*, he is distinguished from all other creatures with which we are acquainted."

According to this, the conscience itself would be a product of the human will !

"Morality is quite an individual matter ; it does not exist between two persons. No man can feel for me that I am. No man can feel for me that I am moral."

If in this passage we think we hear Fichte, in other passages we think we hear the Bible. Christianity Pestalozzi calls the religion of morality, the moral process, mortification, regeneration, the highest effort to make the spirit rule over the flesh.

I refer the reader to what I have said against Rousseau's men of nature.* Such views have a resemblance to the historical novels, those

* In 1753, the Academy of Dijon offered a prize for the best essay on the origin of the inequality among men. Rousseau sent in an essay, but did not obtain the prize. He meditated his discourse in the woods of St. Germain ; there he found the picture of primitive history, which he proceeded to paint in strong colors, "I combated," he says, speaking of his performance, "the petty lies of men. I ventured to represent human nature in its nakedness, to follow the progress of time and things, by which this nature became deformed, and, by comparing the man of society with the man of nature, to show the reader the true source of his miseries in his imagined perfection." "Ye fools," he exclaims, "who unceasingly complain of nature, learn that all your sufferings come from yourselves."

Rousseau himself declares that, in his inquiry, he abstracted his view from all the facts of history. He portrays fictitious men of nature and their condition, and narrates how the present, really frightful, civilized state has gradually developed itself out of the primitive state of nature ; this narration he offers to the reader as the history of his species. And yet he pretends to censure most of our philosophers on account of its not having occurred to them to doubt if there ever was such a state of nature, as, according to Moses, in whom every Christian philosopher must place belief, Adam, after being taught by God, ceased to be a mere man of nature. Nevertheless, he says, we may make conjectures as to what the human race would have become, if it had been left entirely to itself. A singular biography of the human race ! Just as if any one should write the history of a man's life, leaving totally out of sight that he had had a tender father, who had affectionately watched over his helpless childhood ; just as if the earth were a great foundling-hospital, in which God the Father had exposed Adam, leaving him to himself, and entirely abandoning Him. But of God the Father there is no mention ; only of a certain Mother Nature, however fantastically Rousseau portrays and extols the fictitious primitive state of mankind, every reader, who has any feeling, who has even the faintest conception of what is meant by the expression "image of God," will turn away in disgust from his rude pastoral. "When I divest man," he says, "of all the supernatural gifts which he has received, and all the artificial abilities which he could attain only in a long process of development, when, in a word, I contemplate him as he must have proceeded from the hand of nature, I behold in him an animal, weaker and less active than many other animals, but, on the whole, more advantageously organized than all the rest."

These animals, called men, lived, according to Rousseau, without shelter, roving about in the woods, without language, without any desire for the society of their fellows, perhaps without knowing one another at all personally, and without marriage. "The mother satisfied the wants of her children in the first instance, because it did herself good ; she continued to nourish them because they had

hybrid offspring of truth and fiction. Who would wish to become acquainted with history through such works? Just as little do we become acquainted with the outlines of the history of the life of humanity, or of an individual man, from Pestalozzi's Researches, and still less from Rousseau: the understanding of both runs riot in the regions of fancy; in vain does the reader weary himself with the effort to convert the almost odious creations of their imagination into real existences. Where and when, for example, did Pestalozzi's man of nature ever exist—an innocent *animal* man, endowed with instinct? This character does not apply to Adam in Paradise, who was not an animal, but a lord of the animals, and still less does it apply to any child of Adam. In how simple and sublime a manner, on the contrary, do the Holy Scriptures comprehend and characterize the whole human race.

At the same time, I will not deny that Pestalozzi's Researches contain a great number of very excellent passages, and compel the serious reader to reflect. From those passages, I will only select one. As in Christopher and Alice, so here Pestalozzi declares himself decidedly against rebellion, but just as decidedly against grovelling servility. "Although I doubt," he says, "whether the people are more debased by rebellion, than by political deception, yet I approve of rebellion as little as of the deceitful violence of state-policy. The depravity of the

become dear to her by habit; they forsook the mother as soon as they had gained sufficient strength to seek their own nourishment; and, as they were pretty certain to be permanently dispersed, if once they went out of each other's sight, it was never long before they ceased even to recognize each other." There was no mention of the father, he never knew his children, and education there was none whatever. The first men were also dumb, as language was only invented in the course of thousands of years. (*)

It will scarcely be necessary to follow Rousseau in his further execution of the portraiture of these natural men, as, according to him, they "proceeded from the hand of nature." Who then is this Nature of whom Rousseau talks? Is she forsooth that Monster that Göthe represents to us, eternally gulping down her food, eternally chewing the cud? In any case, she would be a bungling and unfeeling artist, if the men she produced were such as Rousseau depicts. He asserts, nevertheless, that these men "lived tranquil and innocent lives," that their souls were in peace, and their bodies in health; but that, unfortunately, they had been robbed of that paradaisaical life through their "perfecibility."

Although we must censure Rousseau's discourse as fanciful, yet, in one point of view, it has decided truth in it. Surrounded by a godless, profane race, himself contaminated by their depravity, he turned his gaze in despair to nations in which he saw the opposite of French over-refinement, and appealed repeatedly to Hottentots and Caribs, whose mode of existence, he affirmed, stood nearest to the natural state of man. He resembles a physician who has the clearest perception of the desperate condition of a patient, but despises, because he does not comprehend, the proper remedy, and therefore searches about for wrong ones.—Raumer's *Life of Rousseau*.

(*) Voltaire wrote the following characteristic letter to Rousseau about his discourse, in 1755:—"I have received your new book against the human race, and thank you for it. You will please men, to whom you speak the truth, but not make them better. No one could paint in stronger colors the horrors of human society, from which our ignorance and weakness promise themselves so many delights. Never has any one employed so much genius to make us into beasts; when one reads your book, one is seized with a desire to go down on all fours. Nevertheless, as I have left off this habit already more than sixty years, I feel, unfortunately, that it is impossible for me to take to it again, and I leave this natural mode of walking to others who are more worthy of it than you and I. Neither can I take ship, in order to visit the savages of Canada, firstly, because the maladies to which I am condemned render a European physician necessary to me, then again, because there is at present war in that country, and the example of our nations has made the savages almost as bad as we are ourselves. I am content to live as a peaceful savage in the lonely district adjoining your native land, &c."

social condition leads us obviously to two extremes, which ruin our species in different ways, but both ways equally, and these are recklessness and enervation. We dare not, however, for fear of the dangers which recklessness, and its utmost evil, rebellion, suspend over our species, mistake those which the enervation of our citizens causes in the social state. It is a total want of faith in political virtue, a total indifference to the question of social rights. Whoever is degraded by it despises himself, and hates the man who does not do so. If rights are spoken of, he says, 'We have wherewithal to eat and to drink and fine houses;' if the people are spoken of, he asks, 'Who are they?' The human race, he thinks, is the money-chest—freedom, everything that brings in money and everything that gives pleasure—slavery, everything that costs money and everything that gives pain. In this condition, our species combines the most disgusting ostentation with the most profound meanness. Loaded with the curse of the political yoke, without political strength, a stranger to all those invigorating feelings which arise from a happy independence, it dances for bread, the ring in its nose, bows down, kneels, and performs antics before the man who has taught it this dance of service with a stick in his hand. Man is without benevolence towards his species; if the needy condition of his children is spoken of, he says, 'Let them care for themselves, I have had to care for myself;' and just as little is he concerned about posterity, his species, and his nation. The question, whether man may not be more debased by such an enervation than by rebellion, is then, please God, no captious question."

6. PESTALOZZI IN STANZ. 1798.

Thus we see Pestalozzi but little or not at all engaged in educational undertakings during the eighteen years from 1780 to 1798; his writings too during this time are mainly of a philosophical and political character, and relate only indirectly to education. But the French Revolution introduced a new epoch, for Pestalozzi, as well as for Switzerland.

The revolutionary armies of France pressed into the country, old forms were destroyed, the whole of Switzerland was consolidated into an "inseparable republic," at the head of which stood five directors, after the model of the French directional government of that time. Among these was Legrand, a man of a class that is always becoming more rare. I visited the amiable octogenarian in Steinthal, where formerly, with his friend Oberlin, he had labored for the welfare of the communes. When the conversation turned on the happiness or the education of the people, or on the education of youth generally, the old man became animated with youthful enthusiasm, and tears started to his eyes.*

Legrand was a friend of Pestalozzi's; no wonder, seeing that the two men very nearly resembled each other in their way of thinking, as well as in their enthusiastic activity and their unbounded hopefulness. Pestalozzi joined the new republic, while, at the same time, he did all in his power to subdue the jacobinical element in it. He wrote a paper "On the Present Condition and Disposition of Mankind." In

* In our times, there is too great a tendency to consider such enthusiasm Quixotic.

this paper, as also in the "Swiss People's Journal," which he edited at the instigation of the government, he pressed upon the attention of the people the necessity of a return to the integrity and piety of their ancestors; the instruction and education of youth, he represented, were the means for attaining this object.

At this time, he declared that he would become a schoolmaster.*

Legrand entered into the idea; and Pestalozzi was already about to open an educational institution in the canton of Argovia, when one of the misfortunes of war intervened. On the 9th of September, 1798, Stanz in Unterwalden was burnt by the French, the entire canton was laid waste, and a multitude of fatherless and motherless children were wandering about destitute and without a shelter. Legrand now called upon Pestalozzi to go to Stanz and undertake the care of the destitute children.

Pestalozzi went; what he experienced he has himself told us.

The convent of the Ursulines there was given up to him; he took up his abode in it, accompanied only by a housekeeper, before it was even put into a fit condition for the reception of children. Gradually he gathered around him as many as eighty poor children, from four to ten years old, some of them orphans, horribly neglected, infected with the itch and scurvy, and covered with vermin. Among ten of them, scarcely one could say the alphabet. He describes the educational experiments which he made with such children, and speaks of these experiments as "a sort of feeler of the pulse of the science which he sought to improve, a venturesome effort." "A person with the use of his eyes," he adds, "would certainly not have ventured it; fortunately, I was blind."

For example, under the most difficult circumstances, he wanted to prove, by actual experiment, that those things in which domestic education possesses advantages must be imitated in public education.

He gave the children no set lessons on religion; being suspected by the Roman Catholic parents, as a Protestant, and at the same time as an adherent of the new government, he did not dare; but whenever the occurrences of daily life presented an opportunity, he would make them the groundwork of inculcating some religious or moral lesson. As he had formerly done at Neuhoff, he sought to combine intellectual instruction with manual labor, the establishment for instruction with that for industrial occupations, and to fuse the two

* There is a gap here in Raumer's account, which I fill up from an excellent essay on Pestalozzi's *Idea of Human Culture* by my friend Dr. Mönnich, of Nuremberg.—Trs.

"Although, in pointing to an ennobling education of youth, and especially the youth of the people and the poor, as the surest guarantee of a lawfully ordered political condition, he only did that which he could not leave undone, still most people believed that he was speaking and writing thus industriously, merely with the view of procuring for himself an office under the new government, when an opportunity should arise. The government, on whom he urged with far too much vehemence the importance of order, justice, and law, actually offered him an appointment, in the hope that he would then be quiet. But what was their astonishment, when, in reply to their inquiry as to what office he would be willing to accept, he said, 'I WILL BE A SCHOOLMASTER.' But few understood him, only those who, like himself, were earnestly desirous for the foundation of a truly equitable political condition."

into each other. But it became clear to him, that the first stages of intellectual training must be separated from those of industrial training and precede the fusion of the two. It was here in Stanz also that Pestalozzi, for want of other assistants, set children to instruct children, a plan which Lancaster was similarly led to adopt in consequence of the inability of the teacher to instruct the large numbers of children who were placed under his charge.* Pestalozzi remarks, without disapprobation, that a feeling of honor was by this means, awakened in the children; a remark which directly contradicts his opinion, that the performance of the duties of the monitor proceeded from a disposition similar to brotherly love.

Another plan, which is now imitated in countless elementary schools, was likewise tried by Pestalozzi at Stanz, namely, that of making a number of children pronounce the same sentence simultaneously, syllable for syllable.† "The confusion arising from a number of children repeating after me at once," he says, "led me to see the necessity of a measured pace in speaking, and this measured pace heightened the effect of the lesson."

Pestalozzi repeats, in his account of the Stanz institution, what he had brought forward in Leonard and Gertrude. "My aim," he says, "was to carry the simplification of the means of teaching so far, that all the common people might easily be brought to teach their children, and gradually to render the schools almost superfluous for the first elements of instruction. As the mother is the first to nourish her child physically, so also, by the appointment of God, she must be the first to give it spiritual nourishment; I reckon that very great evils have been engendered by sending children too early to school, and by all the artificial means of educating them away from home. The time will come, so soon as we shall have simplified instruction, when every mother will be able to teach, without the help of others, and thereby, at the same time, to go on herself always learning."‡

I refer the reader to Pestalozzi's own description of his singularly active labors in Stanz, where he was not only the teacher and trainer of eighty children, but, as he says, paymaster, man-servant, and almost housemaid, at the same time. In addition to this, sickness broke out among the children, and the parents showed themselves shamelessly ungrateful.

Pestalozzi would have sunk under these efforts had he not been liberated on the 8th of June, 1799, by the French, who, being hard pressed by the Austrians, came to Stanz, and converted one wing of the convent into a military hospital. This induced him to let the children return to their friends, and he went himself up the Gurnigel mountain.§ Only twenty-two children remained; these,

* Lancaster's monitors, *i. e.* children set to teach and superintend other children. "At that time (1798)," says Pestalozzi, "nobody had begun to speak of mutual instruction."

† The plan of simultaneous reading and speaking had been introduced into the Austrian schools at an earlier period.

‡ With views diametrically opposite to these, people go on erecting and conducting numbers of infants' schools.

§ In the Bernese Oberland. There is a medicinal spring there.

says Mr. Heussler, "were attended to, taught, and trained, if not in Pestalozzi's spirit, still with care and with more order and cleanliness, under the guidance of the reverend Mr. Businger."

"On the Gurnigel," says Pestalozzi, "I enjoyed days of recreation. I required them; it is a wonder that I am still alive. I shall not forget those days, as long as I live: they saved me, but I could not live without my work."

Pestalozzi was much blamed for giving up the Stanz institution, although necessity had compelled him to do so. "People said ~~in~~ my face," he says, "that it was a piece of folly, to believe that, because a man had written something sensible in his thirtieth year, he would therefore be capable of doing something sensible in his fiftieth year. I was said to be brooding over a beautiful dream."

Pestalozzi came down from the Gurnigel; at the advice of Chief Justice Schnell, he went to Burgdorf, the second town in the canton of Bern.

7. PESTALOZZI AT BURGDORF. 1799-1804.

Through the influence of well-wishers, Pestalozzi obtained leave to give instruction in the primary schools of Burgdorf.* He had many enemies. The head master of the schools imagined that Pestalozzi wanted to supplant him in his appointment: the report spread that the Heidelberg catechism was in danger: "it was whispered," says Pestalozzi, "that I myself could not write, nor work accounts, nor even read properly. Popular reports are not always entirely destitute of truth," he adds; "it is true that I could not write, nor read, nor work accounts well."

As far as the regulations of the school would allow, Pestalozzi prosecuted here the experiments in elementary instruction which he had begun at Stanz. M. Glayre, a member of the executive council of the canton, to whom he endeavoured to explain the tendency of these experiments, made the ominous remark, "You want to render education mechanical." "He hit the nail on the head," says Pestalozzi, "and supplied me with the very expression that indicated the object of my endeavours, and of the means which I employed for attaining it."

Pestalozzi had not been schoolmaster at Burgdorf quite a year, when he had a pulmonary attack; in consequence of this he gave up the appointment, and a new epoch of his life commenced. M. Fischer, secretary to the Helvetian minister of public instruction, had entertained the idea of founding a normal school in the castle of Burgdorf, but had died before carrying it into execution. With this end in view, he had induced M. Krüsi to come to Burgdorf. Krüsi was a native of Gaiß, in the canton of Appenzell, was schoolmaster there at the early age of eighteen, and had migrated thence in the year 1799, taking with him 28 children.† Pestalozzi now proposed to Krüsi to join him in establishing an educational institution: Krüsi willingly agreed, and through him the co-operation of M. Tobler, who had been for the last five years tutor in a family in Basel, was obtained; through Tobler,

* In a school in which children of from four to eight years old received instruction in reading and writing, under the general superintendence of a female teacher.

† Of this migration more will be said further on.

that of ~~the~~ Buss, of Tübingen. With these three assistants, Pestalozzi opened the institution in the winter of 1800.

It was in Burgdorf that Pestalozzi commenced a work which, with the "Evening Hour" and "Leonard and Gertrude," stands out conspicuously amongst his writings. It was commenced on the 1st of January, 1801.

It bears the queer title, "How Gertrude teaches her Children : an attempt to give Directions to Mothers how to instruct their own Children." The reader must not be misled by the title; the book contains nothing but directions for mothers.

There are numerous contradictions throughout the book, as well as on the title page; and it is therefore a most difficult task to give a condensed view of it. Almost the only way to accomplish this will be to resolve it into its elements.

Nothing can be more touching than the passage in which the author speaks of the desire of his whole life to alleviate the condition of the suffering people—of his inability to satisfy this desire—of his many blunders—and of his despair of himself; and then humbly thanks God, who had preserved him, when he had cast himself away, and who graciously permitted him, even in old age, to look forward to a brighter future. It is impossible to read anything more affecting.

The second element of this book is a fierce and fulminating battle against the sins and faults of his time. He advances to the assault at storm-pace, and clears everything before him with the irresistible force of truth. He directs his attack principally against the hollow education of our time, particularly in the higher ranks of society. He calls the members of the aristocracy "miserable creatures of mere words, who by the artificialities of their mode of life are rendered incapable of feeling that they themselves stand on stilts, and that they must come down off their wretched wooden legs, in order to stand on God's earth with even the same amount of firmness as the people."

In another part of the book, Pestalozzi declaims warmly against all the education of the present age. "It sacrifices (he says) the substance of all instruction to the nonsense about particular isolated systems of instruction, and by filling the mind with fragments of truth, it quenches the spirit of truth itself, and deprives mankind of the power of independence which is based thereon. I have found, what was very obvious, that this system of instruction does not base the use of particular means either on elementary principles or elementary forms. The state of popular instruction rendered it inevitable that Europe should sink into error, or rather madness, and into this it really did sink. On the one hand, it raised itself into a gigantic height in particular arts; on the other, it lost for the whole of its people all the stability and support which are to be obtained by resting on the guidance of nature. On the one side, no quarter of the globe ever stood so high; but on the other, no quarter of the globe has ever sunk so low. With the golden head of its particular arts, it touches the clouds, like the image of the prophet; but popular instruction, which ought to be the basis and support of this golden head, is everywhere, on the contrary, the most wretched, fragile, good-for-nothing clay, like the feet of that gigantic image."

For this incongruity in our intellectual culture, he blames chiefly *the art of printing*, through which, he says, the eyes have become book-eyes—men have become book-men.

Throughout the work, he speaks against the senseless ~~use~~ of the tongue—against the habit of talking without any real purpose. “The babbling disposition of our time (he says) is so much bound up with the struggle of tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands for their daily bread, and with their slavish adherence to custom, that it will be long, very long, before this temporizing race shall gladly receive into their hearts truths so much opposed to their sensual depravity. Wherever the fundamental faculties of the human mind are allowed to lie dormant, and on those dormant faculties empty words are propt up, there ~~are~~ are making dreamers, whose visions are all the more visionary because the words that were propt up on their miserable yawning existence were high-sounding and full of pretension. As a matter of course, such pupils will dream any and every thing before they will dream *that they are sleeping and dreaming*; but all those about them who are awake perceive their presumption, and (when it suits) put them down as somnambulists.”

“The meaningless declamation of this superficial knowledge produces men who fancy that they have reached the goal in all branches of study, just because their whole life is a belabored prating about that goal; but they never accomplish so much as to make an effort to reach it, because through their life it never had that alluring charm in their eyes which any object must possess to induce a man to make an effort to attain it. The present age abounds in men of this class, and is diseased by a kind of wisdom which carries us forward *pro forma*, as cripples are borne along a race-course, to the goal of knowledge, when, at the same time, it could never enable us to advance towards this goal by our own efforts, before our feet had been healed.”

In other parts of the book he attacks governments as indifferent to the welfare of the people. “The lower classes of Europe (he says) are neglected and wretched: most of those who stand sufficiently near to be able to help them have no time for thinking what may be for their welfare—they have always something to do quite different from this.”

From this, the second and polemical element of the book, I pass to the third and positive one, namely, the kind of education by which Pestalozzi proposes to replace the false education of our time. This might in some measure be anticipated from the polemical passages which have been cited.

He thus enunciates the problem which he proposed to himself to solve: “In the empirical researches which I made in reference to my subject, I did not start from any positive system; I was not acquainted with any one; I simply put to myself the question, What would you do, if you wanted to give a single child all the theoretical knowledge and practical skill which he requires in order to be able to attend properly to the great concerns of life, and so attain to inward contentment?”

Theoretical knowledge and *practical skill* constitute, accordingly, the most important subjects of the work. They are treated with a special relation to the two questions,—What knowledge and skill do children require? and, How are these best imparted to them? The aim is to point out the proper object of education, and the way to attain that object.

Of practical skill, however, there is comparatively very little said,

notwithstanding that Pestalozzi sets so high a value upon it. "Knowledge without skill (he says) is perhaps the most fatal gift which an evil genius has bestowed upon the present age." But Pestalozzi's ideas in relation to practical skill, and the method of attaining it, seem to have been still indistinct.

On the other hand, he is quite at home in the region of theoretical knowledge : to show the starting-point, the road, and the destination, in the journey through this region, is the main design of his work.

This polemic against senseless talking shows that he had sought and found the real root of the tree of which words are the spiritual blossoms.

The beginning of all knowledge, according to Pestalozzi, is *observation*; the last point to be attained, *a clear notion*. He says : "If I look back and ask myself what I have really done towards the improvement of the methods of elementary instruction, I find that, in recognizing observation as the absolute basis of all knowledge, I have established the first and most important principle of instruction, and that, setting aside all particular systems of instruction, I have endeavoured to discover what ought to be the character of the instruction itself, and what are the fundamental laws according to which the education of the human race must be determined by nature." In another place, he requires it to be acknowledged, "that observation is the absolute basis of all knowledge, in other words, that all knowledge must proceed from observation and must admit of being retraced to that source."

But what does Pestalozzi understand by observation ? "It is (he says) simply directing the senses to outward objects, and exciting consciousness of the impression produced on them by those objects." He refers, of course, principally to the sense of sight. But the ear is not to be neglected. "When sounds are produced so as to be heard by the child, and its consciousness of the impression which these sounds make on its mind through the sense of hearing is aroused, this, to the child, is just as much observation, as when objects are placed before its eyes, and consciousness is awakened by the impression which the objects make on the sense of sight. By the aid of his Spelling Book, therefore, the child's ear is to be familiarized with the series of elementary sounds which constitutes the foundation of a knowledge of language, just as it is to be made acquainted with visible objects by the aid of his Book for Mothers.

According to this, observation would mean every impression which the mind receives through the eye and the ear.

Does Pestalozzi exclude the remaining senses ? No ; for he frequently speaks of the impressions of the *five* senses, and he says that the understanding collects the impressions which the senses receive from external nature into a whole, or into a notion, and then develops this idea until it attains clearness. And elsewhere he says that the mechanical form of all instruction should be regulated by the eternal laws according to which the human mind rises from the perceptions of sense to clear notions.

Pestalozzi repeatedly dwells upon this process of intellectual development.

Above everything, he will have attention given to the first step in the process, namely observation. Care is to be taken that the objects

are seen separately by the children, not dimly at a distance, but close at hand and distinctly; then also that there shall be placed before the children, not abnormal, but characteristic specimens of any class of objects—such as will convey a correct idea of the thing and of its most important properties. Thus, for example, a lame, one-eyed, or six-fingered man, he says, would not be proper to convey the idea of the human form.

Out of the observation of an object, the first thing that arises, he says, is the necessity of naming it; from naming it, we pass on to determining its properties, that is to description; out of a clear description is finally developed the definition—the distinct idea of the object. The full maturity of this, the last fruit of all instruction, depends materially on the vigorous germination of the seed sown in the first instance—on the amount of wisdom exercised in guiding the children to habits of observation. Definitions not founded on observation, he says, produce a superficial and unprofitable kind of knowledge.*

Just when we begin to think that we understand Pestalozzi's views, he again leads us into uncertainty as to the idea which he attaches to observation.

He says the idea had only lately struck him, "that all our knowledge arises out of number, form, and words." On this triple basis, he says, education must proceed; and—

"1. It must teach the children to look attentively at every object which they are made to perceive as unity, that is, as separated from those other objects with which it appears in connexion.

"2. It must make them acquainted with the form of every object, that is, its size and proportion.

"3. It must teach them as early as possible the names and words applicable to all the objects with which they are acquainted."

Pestalozzi found it difficult, however, to answer the question, "Why are not all the other properties which the five senses enable us to perceive in objects, just as much elements of our knowledge as number, form, and name?" His answer is, "All possible objects have necessarily number, form, and name; but the remaining properties which the senses enable us to perceive are not possessed by any object in common with all others, but this property is shared with one object, and that with another."

When Pestalozzi made form a category to embrace all and everything, he only thought of the visible, as is evidenced by the further development of his instruction in form, which deals chiefly with the measuring of visible objects.

But there are innumerable observations which have nothing whatever to do with form and number; for example, tasting honey, smelling roses, &c.

The prominence which Pestalozzi gave to form and number caused him to undertake a new treatment of the subjects of geometry and arithmetic. Subsequently he divided geometry into instruction in form and instruction in spaces, for the reason that we perceive shape and size

* This important principle of education is still but very imperfectly understood by English teachers, who far too often *begin* with the definition, instead of making it the ultimate point to be attained.

(mathematical quality and quantity) independently of each other; drawing he made a part of the instruction in form—writing a part of drawing.*

But what became of Pestalozzi's principle, that observation is the foundation of all intelligence, when he thus gave an undue prominence to form and number, and neglected all other properties? Suppose that we put a glass cube into the hands of a child, and he observes in respect to it nothing else but that it has the cubic form, and, over and above this, that it is *one* cube,—so far this glass cube is in no way distinguished from a wooden one. But if I require to take notice of other properties, such as color, transparency, weight, &c., in order that I may form a correct idea of the glass cube, as a separate object, and so describe it that it shall be distinguished with certainty from every other cube,—then I must fix my attention, not only on form and number, but on all apparent properties, as elements in a complete observation.

Lastly, language itself has nothing to do with observation. Why should I not be able to form a perfectly correct notion of an object that has no name—for instance, a newly-discovered plant? Language only gives us the expression for the impressions of the senses; in it is reflected the whole world of our perceptions. “It is,” as Pestalozzi rightly observes, “the reflex of all the impressions which Nature's entire domain has made on the human race.”† But what does he go on to say? “Therefore I make use of it, and endeavour, by the guidance of its uttered sounds, to reproduce in the child the selfsame impressions which, in the human race, have occasioned and formed these sounds. Great is the gift of language. It gives to the child in one moment what nature required thousands of years to give to man.”

In that case, every child would be a rich heir of antiquity, without the trouble of acquisition; words would be current notes for the things which they designate. But both Nature and History protest against payment in such currency, and give only to him that hath. Does not Pestalozzi himself repeatedly protest against this very thing? “The christian people of our quarter of the world (he says) have sunk into these depths, because in their lower school establishments the mind has been loaded with a burden of empty words, which has not only effaced the *impressions of Nature*, but has even destroyed the inward susceptibility for such impressions.”

Pestalozzi's further treatment of the instruction in language clearly proves that, contrary to his own principles, he really ascribed a magical power to words—that he put them more or less in the place of observation—and (to speak with a figure) that he made the reflected image of a thing equal to the thing itself.

As this error of Pestalozzi's is of the greatest consequence, I will examine it more closely. In the instruction in language, he begins with lessons on sounds; these are followed by lessons on words; and these again by lessons on language.

* I shall say more on this point when I come to speak of the mathematical instruction.

† I here leave unnoticed the two facts, that language is not merely a living reflex of Nature—of the outer world of phenomena—but also of the inner man, and that a word itself may be an object of observation and a subject of discussion.

I. LESSONS ON SOUNDS.—“The Spelling Book (says Pestalozzi) must contain the entire range of sounds of which the language consists, and portions of it should be repeated daily in every family, not only by the child that is going through the exercises to learn how to spell, but also by mothers, within hearing of the child in the cradle, in order that these sounds may, by frequent repetition, be so deeply impressed upon the memory of the child, even while it is yet unable to pronounce a single one of them, that they shall never be forgotten. No one imagines to what a degree the attention of infants is aroused by the repetition of such simple sounds as ba, ba, ba, da, da, da, ma, ma, ma, la, la, la, &c., or what a charm such repetition has for them.”

And so the child in the cradle is to have no rest from elementary teaching ; the cradle songs sung to it are to consist of such delightful bawling and bleating as ba, ba, ba, &c., which might well scare away the child’s guardian angels.

As soon as the child begins to talk, it is to “repeat some sequences of these sounds every day ;” then follow exercises in spelling.

II. “LESSONS IN WORDS, or rather, LESSONS IN NAMES.”—According to Pestalozzi, “all the most important objects in the world are brought under the notice of the child in the Book for Mothers.”

“Lessons in Names consist in giving the children lists of the names of the most important objects in all three kingdoms of nature, in history, in geography, and in the pursuits and relations of mankind. These lists of words are placed in the hands of the child, merely as exercises in learning to read, immediately after he has gone through his Spelling Book ; and experience has shown me that it is possible to make the children so thoroughly acquainted with these lists of words, that they shall be able to repeat them from memory, merely in the time that is required to perfect them in reading : the gain of what at this age is so complete a knowledge of lists of names so various and comprehensive, is immeasurable, in facilitating the subsequent instruction of the children.”

Here again it is not even remotely hinted that the children ought to know the things named ; words, mere words, are put in the place of observation.

3. LESSONS IN LANGUAGE.—The highest aim of language, according to Pestalozzi’s idea, is to lead us from dim perceptions to clear notions, and that by the following process :—

1. “We acquire a general knowledge of an object, and name it as unity, as an object.

2. “We gradually become conscious of its distinguishing qualities, and learn how to name them.

3. “We receive through language the power of designating these qualities of the objects more precisely by means of verbs and adverbs.”

The first step in this process is, as we have seen, the object of the Pestalozzian lessons in names ; but, when viewed more closely, the lessons are found to consist, not in the naming of objects arising out of knowing them, but in the names for their own sake.

In reference to the second operation, when Pestalozzi writes on the black board the word “eel,” and adds the qualities, “slippery, worm-shaped, thick-skinned,” the children by no means become conscious of the distinguishing qualities of an eel, and learn to name them, through

observing an eel; they rather get adjectives to the noun "eel." Of the process by which these adjectives arise from the observation of the qualities which they express, there is again nothing said.

This neglect of observation is still more striking, when Pestalozzi, further on, classifies what is to be learned under the following heads:

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1. Geography. | 3. Physics. | 5. Physiology. |
| 2. History. | 4. Natural History. | |

Each of these five heads he divides again into forty subdivisions, so that he makes two hundred subdivisions. He now proceeds to give lists of words in all these subjects in alphabetical order, which lists are to be impressed upon the children's memories, "till it is impossible they should be forgotten." Afterwards, this alphabetical nomenclature is to be transformed into a "scientific" one. "I do not know (says Pestalozzi) whether it is necessary to illustrate the matter further by an example; it appears to me almost superfluous: nevertheless, I will do so, on account of the novelty of form. *E. G.* One of the subdivisions of Europe is Germany: the child is first of all made well acquainted with the division of Germany into ten circles, so that he shall not be able to forget it; then the names of the towns of Germany are placed before him, at first in mere alphabetical order, for him to read, but each of these towns is previously marked with the number of the circle in which it lies. As soon as the child can read the names of the towns fluently, he is taught the connection of the numbers with the subdivisions of the main heads, and in a few hours he is able to determine the place of the entire number of German towns in these subdivisions. For example, suppose the names of the following places in Germany are set before him, marked by numbers:—

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), 8.	Allenbach, 5.	Altensalza, 10.
Aslen, 3.	Allendorf, 5.	Altkirchen, 8.
Abenberg, 4.	Allersperg, 2.	Altona, 10.
Aberthan, 11.	Alschauften, 3.	Altorf, 1.
Acken, 10.	Alseleben, 10.	Altranstädt, 9.
Adersbach, 11.	Altbunzlau, 11.	Altwasser, 13.
Agler, 1.	Altena, 8.	Alkerdissen, 8.
Ahrbergen, 10.	Altenau, 10.	Amberg, 2.
Aigremont, 8.	Altenberg, 9.	Ambras, 1.
Ala, 1.	Altenburg, 9.	Amöneburg, 6.
		Andernach, 6.

He reads them all in the following manner:—

Aachen lies in the Westphalian circle;

Abenberg in the Franconian circle;

Acken in the Lower Saxony circle; and so on.

In this manner, the child is evidently enabled, at first sight of the number or mark referring to the subdivisions of the main head, to determine the place of each word of the list in the scientific classification of the subject, and thus, as I before said, to change the alphabetical into a scientific nomenclature."

It is quite unnecessary to give a refutation of these views.*

* Observe, too, how Pestalozzi has taken the names of any obscure places that occurred to him at the moment, such as *Aberthan*, *Ala*, &c. Out of the 31 places whose names are given, five at most would deserve to be included in a school geography. Not a word is said about maps.

Further on in the book, there follow some directions "how to explain more fully to the pupil the nature, qualities, and functions of all the objects with which the lessons in names have made him acquainted, and which have already been explained to him, to a certain extent, by placing their qualities side by side with their names." For this purpose, the mother is to read to the child certain sentences, and the child is to repeat them after her. Many of these sentences would be quite unintelligible to a child; for instance, "The creditor desires payment," "The right must be maintained." They are mere exercises in reading, not based in the slightest degree on observation.

We have seen that Pestalozzi fixed his attention chiefly on the principle that instruction must be based on observation, out of which the clear idea is at last developed. He says that we are dazzled by the charm of a language, "which we speak without having any real knowledge of the ideas conveyed by the words which we allow to run through our mouths." He combats "all scientific teaching which is analyzed, explained, and dictated by men who have not learnt to think and speak in harmony with the laws of nature," whose "definitions must be conjured into the soul like a *deus ex machina*, or must be blown into the ears as by stage-prompters;" the effect of which is that men "sink into a miserable mode of education, fit only for forming play-actors." He speaks with great warmth against "definitions not founded on observation." "A definition (he says) is the simplest expression of clear ideas, but for the child it contains truth only in so far as he has a clear and comprehensive view of the groundwork of observation on which these ideas are based; whenever he is left without the greatest clearness in the observation of a natural object which has been defined to him, he only learns to play with words like so many counters, deceives himself, and places a blind belief in sounds which will convey to him no idea, nor give rise to any other thought, except just this, that he has uttered certain sounds.*

Hinc ille lacrymae."

These excellent principles cannot receive too much attention; but if Pestalozzi's own method of instruction be squared by them, it will be found to run quite counter to them. He begins, not with observation, but with words; with him, substantives stand in the place of the observation of objects, adjectives in the place of the observation of the properties of objects. His polemic against empty word-wisdom hits therefore his own method of instruction. Fichte says very truly in regard to Pestalozzi's idea: "In the field of objective knowledge, which relates to external objects, the acquaintance with the literal sign that represents the clearness and definiteness of the knowledge, adds nothing whatever for the student himself; it only heightens the value of the

* Pestalozzi also shows briefly and truly that none but those who have a thorough knowledge of a subject can possibly give a real explanation of it in words. "If I have not a clear perception of a thing," he says, "I cannot say with certainty what its attributes are, much less what it is; I cannot even describe it, much less define it. If then a third person puts into my mouth the words by means of which some other person, who had a clear conception of the thing, makes it intelligible to people of his own stamp, it is not on this account any clearer to me; but it is clear to the other person and not to me so long as the words of this person are not for me what they are for him: the definite expression of the full clearness of an idea."

knowledge with reference to his surroundings to others, which is a morally different matter. The character of such knowledge can result only from instruction, and that which we call pleasure-regardance in all its parts. But as it really is, in the instruction, is perfectly known, whence we have a right to it to hold. We are even of opinion that this permission of observation should precede the acquaintance with the human soul, and that the ignorant boy leads directly to the world of love and charity, and to that early use of the tongue, both of which are so fully taught by Pestalozzi; but even then he will be most concerned to know the world as the earliest possible moment, and this deems his knowledge complete so soon as he knows it. Even precisely in that world of love, and is duly exercised for its extension.

We should have expected from Pestalozzi some directions first, how to exercise the senses of children, and cultivate in them the power of rapidly seizing at their conceptions of objects; secondly, how we should teach them to express in language the impressions of their sense—to translate their mere observations into words.

But Pestalozzi does give some hints, particularly as to the method in which instruction in natural history should be imparted. We must not allow the child to go into the woods and meadows, in order to become acquainted with trees and plants. "Trees and plants," he says, "do not there stand in the order best adapted to make the character of each class apparent, and to prepare the mind by the first impressions of the objects for a general acquaintance with this department of science." It would take me too far away from my purpose, were I to refute this excessive pedantry of method (with the best will in the world, I can find no better word for it), against which every mind that has any degree of freshness, and is alive to the beauties of nature, will at once rise up in condemnation.

But, though nothing further is said, in the work before us, on the education of the senses, and the instruction in language connected therewith, Pestalozzi refers us to his "Book for Mothers" for more on these points. His principle, that the learning of a child must commence with what lies near to it, appears to have led him to the idea, that no natural object lay nearer to a child than its own body, and that therefore it should commence by observing that. The Book for Mothers describes the body, with all its limbs and parts of limbs, down to the minutest joints. Few persons (I do not speak of surgeons) are so well acquainted with the structure of the body as the child is to be made. Few people will understand, for instance, the following description: "The middle bones of the index finger are placed outside, on the middle joints of the index finger, between the back and middle members of the index finger," &c. The mother is to go through the book, word for word, with the child, making constant reference to the child's own body.

It was a great mistake on the part of Pestalozzi, to select the child's body as the first object on which it should exercise its faculties of sight and speech, and, generally, the so-called exercises in observation employed by Pestalozzi and his school ought properly to be regarded as exercises in reading, in which the object is far more to make the children acquainted with words and sentences than to give them distinct and lasting impressions and a real knowledge of the thing.

spoken of. He who yesterday saw a man, with whose image he was so strongly impressed that he can to-day depict it from his inward conception—he who to-day can correctly sing from memory a melody which he heard yesterday—he who yesterday smelt vinegar, and to-day feels the water gather in his mouth at the recollection of the smell—gives proof of his observation by the conception which he has formed, even though he does not translate that conception into words. The generality of the exercises of Pestalozzi and his followers never produce such an imagination of perceptions as this.

Towards the conclusion of the work, Pestalozzi asks himself: “How does the question of religion stand with relation to the principles which I have adopted as true in regard to the development of the human race in general?”

It is difficult to follow him in his answer to this question. Every thing that is lofty in man is founded, according to him, in the relation—which subsists between the infant and its mother. The feelings of gratitude, confidence and love in the child towards the mother gradually unfold themselves, and are, at a later period, transferred by the child, on the admonition of the mother, to God. This, with Pestalozzi, is the *only* way of training the child in religion. It pre-supposes a mother pure as an angel, and a child originally quite innocent. The mother is also, like a saint, to take the child under her wings, when it grows up and is enticed to evil by the world, which is not innocent, “as God first created it.” According to this view, motherless orphans must remain entirely without religious training. There is scarcely a word about the father; just once he is mentioned, and then it is said that he is “tied to his workshop,” and cannot give up his time to the child.

In short, the mother is represented as the mediator between God and the child. But not once is it mentioned that she herself needs a mediator; not once in the whole book does the name of Christ occur. It is nowhere said that the mother is a Christian mother, a member of the Church, and that she teaches the child what she, as a member of the Church, has learnt. Holy writ is ignored; the mother draws her theology out of her own heart. There pervades this work therefore a decided alienation from Christ. But we shall afterwards see that it would be unjust to measure Pestalozzi’s ideas on religious instruction by the untenable theory brought forward in the last chapters of this work.

Having thus considered the contents of this book, which was written and had its origin in Burgdorf, which contains fundamental educational principles of the highest value and importance, side by side with the most glaring educational blunders and absurdities, it will be of the greatest interest to hear how Pestalozzi performed his work as a teacher, and as the director of his institution, in Burgdorf. We shall obtain information on this point from a small but in many respects highly interesting and valuable pamphlet, entitled “A Short Sketch of my Educational Life by John Ramsauer.”* The writer, who was the son of a tradesman and was born in 1790 at Herisau in

* When Pestalozzi himself speaks of his teaching, he is too apt to mix up what he intended with what he really effected.

the Swiss canton of Appenzell, migrated thence in 1800 along with forty-four other children from ten to fourteen years of age, at a time when several cantons, Appenzell among the rest, had been totally desolated in consequence of the French Revolution ; and he came thus to Schleumen, not far from Burgdorf. While at Schleumen, he attended the lower burgh school of Burgdorf, in which, as already stated, Pestalozzi taught. He gives the following account of Pestalozzi's teaching :—

“ I got about as much regular schooling as the other scholars, namely, none at all ; but his (Pestalozzi's) sacred zeal, his devoted love, which caused him to be entirely unmindful of himself, his serious and depressed state of mind, which struck even the children, made the deepest impression on me, and knit my childlike and grateful heart to his for ever.

“ It is impossible to give a clear picture of this school as a whole ; all that I can do is to sketch a few partial views.

“ Pestalozzi's intention was that all the instruction given in this school should start from form, number, and language, and should have a constant reference to these elements. There was no regular plan in existence, neither was there a time-table, for which reason Pestalozzi did not tie himself down to any particular hours, but generally went on with the same subject for two or three hours together. There were about sixty of us, boys and girls, of ages varying from eight to fifteen years ; the school hours were from 8 till 11 in the morning, and from 2 to 4 in the afternoon. The instruction which we received was entirely limited to drawing, ciphering, and exercises in language. We neither read nor wrote, and accordingly we had neither reading nor writing books ; nor were we required to commit to memory anything secular or sacred.

“ For the drawing, we had neither copies to draw from nor directions what to draw, but only crayons and boards ; and we were told to draw ‘ what we liked ’ during the time that Pestalozzi was reading aloud sentences about natural history (as exercises in language). But we did not know what to draw, and so it happened that some drew men and women, some houses, and others strings, knots, and arabesques, or whatever else came into their heads. Pestalozzi never looked to see *what* we had drawn, or rather scribbled ; but the clothes of all the scholars, especially the sleeves and elbows, gave unmistakeable evidence that they had been making due use of their crayons.

“ For the ciphering, we had between every two scholars a small table pasted on millboard, on which in quadrangular fields were marked dots, which we had to count, to add together, to subtract, to multiply and divide by one another. It was out of these exercises that Krüsi and Buss constructed, first the Unity Table, and afterwards the Fraction Tables. But, as Pestalozzi only allowed the scholars to go over and to repeat the exercises in their turns, and never questioned them nor set them tasks, these exercises, which were otherwise very good, remained without any great utility. He had not sufficient patience to allow things to be gone over again, or to put questions ; and in his enormous zeal for the instruction of the whole school, he seemed not to concern himself in the slightest degree for the individual scholar.

“ The best things we had with him were the exercises in language,

at least those which he gave us on the paper-hangings of the school-room, and which were real exercises in observation. These hangings were very old and a good deal torn, and before these we had frequently to stand for two or three hours together, and say what we observed in respect to the form, number, position and color of the figures painted on them and the holes torn in them, and to express what we observed in sentences gradually increasing in length. On such occasions, he would say : ' Boys, what do you see ? ' (He never named the girls).

Answer. A hole (or rent) in the wainscoat.

Pestalozzi. Very good. Now repeat after me :—

I see a hole in the wainscoat.

I see a long hole in the wainscoat.

Through the hole I see the wall.

Through the long narrow hole I see the wall.

Pestalozzi. Repeat after me :—

I see figures on the paper-hangings.

I see black figures on the paper-hangings.

I see round black figures on the paper-hangings.

I see a square yellow figure on the paper-hangings.

Beside the square yellow figure, I see a black round figure.

The square figure is joined to the round one by a thick black stroke.

And so on.

"Of less utility were those exercises in language which he took from natural history, and in which we had to repeat after him, and at the same time to draw, as I have already mentioned. He would say :—

Amphibious Animals. Crawling amphibious animals.

Creeping amphibious animals.

Monkeys.

Long-tailed monkeys.

Short-tailed monkeys.

And so on.

We did not understand a word of this, for not a word was explained, and it was all spoken in such a sing-song tone, and so rapidly and indistinctly, that it would have been a wonder if any one had understood any thing of it, and had learnt anything from it; besides, Pestalozzi cried out so dreadfully loud and so continuously, that he could not hear us repeat after him, the less so as he never waited for us when he had read out a sentence, but went on without intermission, and read off a whole page at once. What he thus read out was drawn up on a half-sheet of large-sized millboard, and our repetition consisted for the most part in saying the last word or syllable of each phrase, thus 'monkeys—monkeys,' or 'keys—keys.' There was never any questioning or recapitulation.

As Pestalozzi in his zeal, did not tie himself to any particular time, we generally went on till eleven o'clock with whatever he had commenced at eight, and by ten o'clock he was always tired and hoarse. We knew when it was eleven by the noise of other school-children in the street, and then usually we all ran out without bidding good-bye.

Although Pestalozzi had at all times strictly prohibited his assistants from using any kind of corporal punishment, yet he by no means dispensed with it himself, but very often dealt out boxes on the ears right and left. But most of the scholars rendered his life very unhappy, so much so that I felt a real sympathy for him, and kept myself all the

more quiet. This he soon observed, and many a time he took me for a walk at eleven o'clock, for in fine weather he went every day to the banks of the river Emme, and for recreation and amusement looked for different kinds of stones. I had to take part in this occupation myself, although it appeared to me a strange one, seeing that millions of stones lay there, and I did not know which to search for. He himself was acquainted with only a few kinds, but nevertheless he dragged along home from this place every day with his pocket and his pocket-handkerchief full of stones, though after they were once deposited at home, they were never looked at again. He retained this fancy throughout his life. It was not an easy thing to find a single entire pocket-handkerchief in the whole of the institution at Burgdorf, for all of them had been torn with carrying stones.

"There is one thing which, though indeed unimportant, I must not forget to mention. The first time that I was taken into Pestalozzi's school, he cordially welcomed and kissed me, then he quickly assigned me a place, and the whole morning did not speak another word to me, but kept on reading out sentences without halting for a moment. As I did not understand a bit of what was going on, when I heard the word 'monkey, monkey,' come every time at the end of a sentence, and as Pestalozzi, who was very ugly, ran about the room as if he was wild, without a coat, and without a neck-cloth, his long shirt-sleeves hanging down over his arms and hands, which swung negligently about, I was seized with real terror, and might soon have believed that he himself was a monkey. During the first few days too, I was all the more afraid of him, as he had, on my arrival, given me a kiss with his strong, prickly beard, the first kiss which I remembered having received in my life."

Ramsauer does not relate so much about the instruction given by the other teachers. Among the fruits of their instruction were two of the three elementary works which appeared in 1803, under Pestalozzi's name: (1) "The A B C of Observation, or Lessons on the Relations of Size," (2) "Lessons on the Relations of Number." The third elementary work alone was written by Pestalozzi himself; it is the one already mentioned, the "Book for Mothers, or Guide for Mothers in teaching their children to observe and speak."

The institution attracted more and more notice; people came from a distance to visit it, induced particularly by Pestalozzi's work, "How Gertude teaches her children." M. Decan Ith, who was sent by the Helvetic government in 1802 to examine the institution, made a very favorable report on it, in consequence of which the government recognized it as a public institution, and granted small salaries to the teachers out of the public funds.

But that government was dissolved by Napoleon the very next year, and the Constitution of the Cantons restored. The Bernese government now fixed on the castle of Burgdorf, as the seat of one of the chief magistrates of the canton; and Pestalozzi had to clear out of it, on the 22nd of August, 1804.

In 1802, during Pestalozzi's stay at Burgdorf, Napoleon required the Swiss people to send a deputation to him at Paris. Two districts chose Pestalozzi as a deputy. Before his departure, he published a pamphlet, entitled "Views on the Objects to which the Legislature of

Helvetia has to direct its attention." He put a memorandum on the wants of Switzerland into the hands of the First Consul, who paid as little attention to it as he did to Pestalozzi's educational efforts, declaring that he could not mix himself up with the teaching of the ABC.

8. PESTALOZZI AT BUCHSEE. 1804.

The Bernese government gave up the monastery of Buchsee to Pestalozzi for his institution, and had the building properly arranged for him. Close by Buchsee lies the estate of Hofwyl, where Fellenberg resided. To him the teachers gave the principal direction of the institution, "not without my consent," says Pestalozzi, "but to my profound mortification."

Notwithstanding, Pestalozzi allows Fellenberg to have possessed in a high degree the talent of governing. In Fellenberg the intellect predominated, as in Pestalozzi the feelings; in the institution at Buchsee, therefore, "that love and warmth was missing which, inspiring all who came within its influence, rendered every one at Burgdorf so happy and cheerful: at Buchsee everything was, in this respect, totally different. Still Buchsee had this advantage, that in it more order prevailed, and more was learned than at Burgdorf."*

Pestalozzi perceived that his institution would not become independent of Fellenberg, so long as it should remain at Buchsee, and he gladly accepted, therefore, a highly advantageous proposal on the part of the inhabitants of Yverdun, that he should remove his institution to their town. He repaired thither, with some of his teachers and eight pupils; half a year later, the remaining teachers† followed, having, as Pestalozzi remarks, soon found the government of Fellenberg far more distasteful than the want of government, under him, had ever been to them.

9. PESTALOZZI AT YVERDUN.

1. *From 1805 to the departure of Schmid in 1810.*

We now enter on a period when Pestalozzi and his institution acquired a European reputation, when Pestalozzian teachers had schools in Madrid, Naples, and St. Petersburgh, when the Emperor of Russia gave the venerable old man a personal proof of his favor and esteem, and when Fichte saw in Pestalozzi and his labors the commencement of a renovation of humanity.

But to write the history of this period is a task of unusual difficulty. On one side stand extravagant admirers of Pestalozzi, on the other bitter censurers; a closer examination shows us that both are right, and both wrong. A fearful dissension arises, in the institution itself, among the teachers; at the head of the two parties stand Niederer and Schmid, who abuse each other in a manner unheard of. With which party shall we side; or shall we side with neither, or with both?

If we ask to which party Pestalozzi inclined, or whether he held himself above the parties, and then go entirely according to his judgment, our embarrassment will only be increased. He pronounced a very different opinion on the same man at different times: at one

* Such is the opinion of Ramsauer.

† There were seven or eight teachers and about seventy pupils.

time he saw in him a helping angel, before whom he humbled himself more than was seemly, and from whom he expected every benefit to his institution; at another time, he saw in him an almost fiendish being, who was only bent on ruining the institution.

If any fancy that they have a sure source of information in the account drawn up by Pestalozzi and Niederer, and published in 1807, namely, the "Report on the State of the Pestalozzian Institution, addressed to the Parents of the Pupils and to the Public;" they will be undeceived by some remarks which Pestalozzi himself added to that report at a later period,* but still more so by his last work, "The Fortunes of my Life." This work is altogether at variance with those which give a high degree of praise to the Pestalozzian Institution, in its former condition. From the year in which the dispute between Niederer and Schmid, broke out (1810) most of those who give any information on the subject range themselves on Niederer's side; while Pestalozzi himself, from the year 1815 till his death, holds unchangeably with Schmid.

I should despair of ever being able to thread my way in this labyrinth with any degree of certainty, were it not for the fact that I resided some time in the institution, namely, from October, 1809, till May, 1810, and there became more intimately acquainted with persons and circumstances than I could otherwise have been. But the reader will ask for my credentials: he will want to know whether I alone have kept myself free from all partiality in the matter, and thereby preserved a clear and unclouded view. To this I reply, that I entered the institution with the best will, and had no anticipation of the discord which slumbered in the dispositions and characters of several of the teachers. Which side I took (if the reader will so have it) when the quarrel broke out, I will, as far as I can, relate impartially. Thirty-seven years have now elapsed since the time when these things took place, and during four of these years, I was myself at the head of an educational institution; so that I have had a good deal of experience, and sufficient time to mature a calm and deliberate judgment in regard to the circumstances connected with the Pestalozzian Institution. I will now relate how I came to the determination to visit Pestalozzi, what I saw at Yverdum, and why I quitted it.

After I had studied at Göttingen and Halle, I devoted several years to the pursuit of mineralogy, under the direction of Werner, in Freiberg, and, having explored mountain-chains in Germany and France, I went to Paris in the Autumn of 1808, in order to continue my studies.

At Paris my views and intentions in regard to the future occupation of my life underwent a great change, which was brought about by two different causes. For one thing, I had learnt by my own experience how little a single individual is able to accomplish for the science of mineralogy, even if he goes to work with the best will and the most toilsome industry, that it required much more the united, intelligent and persevering labors of many, in order to pass from a mere belief in the laws of mineralogy to an actual perception of their operation in mountain-chains. I thus became convinced that we ought not to work

* In the collected edition of his works.

for science as individuals, but that we should, after passing through our own apprenticeship, instruct others and train them for the pursuit of science. How much more useful is it, thought I, to produce *one* new workman than *one* single new work, seeing that the former can execute many works, and even train other workmen. This conviction caused me to turn my attention to the question of education. But a second cause operated in a still higher degree to produce the same result. The sad time that had passed since 1806 had affected me with horror and dismay; it had made me wish to shun the society of my fellow-men, and had quite disposed me to give myself up to the most solitary researches among the mountains. This disposition was strengthened at Paris, in the midst of the haughty despisers of our German fatherland. But it was here, too, where Hope first dawned within me, where a solitary light beamed towards me through the darkness of night. I read Pestalozzi, and what Fichte says, in his "Addresses to the German Nation," about Pestalozzi and education. The thought, that a new and better Germany must rise from the ruins of the old one, that youthful blossoms must spring from the mouldering soil, took strong hold of me. In this manner, there awoke within me a determination to visit Pestalozzi at Yverdun.

Fichte's Addresses had a great influence on me. Surrounded by Frenchmen, the brave man pointed out to his Berlin hearers in what way they might cast off the French yoke, and renew and strengthen their nationality.

He promised deliverance especially through a national education of the Germans, which he indicated as the commencement of an entire reformation of the human race, by which the spirit should gain a complete ascendancy over the flesh. To the question, to which of the existing institutions of the actual world he would annex the duty of carrying out the new education, Fichte answered, "To the course of instruction which has been invented and brought forward by Henry Pestalozzi, and which is now being successfully carried out under his direction."

He then gives an account of Pestalozzi, and compares him with Luther, especially in regard to his love for the poor and destitute. His immediate object, says Fichte, was to help these by means of education, but he had produced something higher than a scheme of popular education—he had produced a plan of national education which should embrace all classes of society.

Further on he expresses himself in his peculiar manner on the subject of Pestalozzi's method, which he criticises. He takes exception to Pestalozzi's view of language, namely, "as means of raising mankind from dim perceptions to clear ideas," and to the Book for Mothers. On the other hand, he strongly recommends the development of bodily skill and dexterity proposed by Pestalozzi, for this, among other reasons, that it would make the whole nation fit for military service, and thus remove the necessity for a standing army. Like Pestalozzi, he attaches a high value to the skill necessary for gaining a livelihood, as a condition of an honorable political existence.

He especially insists that it is the duty of the State to charge itself with education. He spoke in the year 1808, in the capital of Prussia, which had been deeply humiliated by the unhappy war of the preceding years, and in the most hopeless period of Germany's history.

"Would that the State," he said to a Prussian audience, among whom were several high officers of State, "would look its present peculiar condition steadily in the face, and acknowledge to itself what that condition really is; would that it could clearly perceive that there remains for it no other sphere in which it can act and resolve as an independent State, except the education of the rising generation; that, unless it is absolutely determined to do nothing, this is now all it can do; but that the merit of doing this would be conceded to it undiminished and unenvied. That we are no longer able to offer an active resistance, was before presupposed, as obvious and as acknowledged by every one. How then can we defend our continued existence, thus obtained by submission, against the reproach of cowardice and an unworthy love of life? In no other way than by resolving not to live for ourselves, and by acting up to this resolution; by raising up a worthy posterity, and by preserving our own existence solely in order that we may accomplish this object. If we had not this first object of life, what else were there for us to do? Our constitutions will be made for us, the alliances which we are to form and the direction in which our military resources shall be applied, will be indicated to us, a statute book will be lent to us, even the administration of justice will sometimes be taken out of our hands; we shall be relieved of all these cares for the next years to come. Education alone has not been thought of; if we are seeking for an occupation, let us seize this! We may expect that in this occupation we shall be left undisturbed. I hope (perhaps I deceive myself, but as I have only this hope still to live for, I cannot cease to hope) that I convince some Germans, and that I shall bring them to see that it is education alone which can save us from all the evils by which we are oppressed. I count especially on this, as a favorable circumstance, that our need will have rendered us more disposed to attentive observation and serious reflection than we were in the day of our prosperity. Foreign lands have other consolations and other remedies; it is not to be expected that they would pay any attention, or give any credit to this idea, should it ever reach them; I will much rather hope that it will be a rich source of amusement to the readers of their journals, if they ever learn that any one promises himself so great things from education."

It may easily be imagined how deep an impression such words made on me, as I read them in Paris, the imperial seat of tyranny, at a time when I was in a state of profound melancholy, caused by the ignominious slavery of my poor beloved country. There also I was absorbed in the perusal of Pestalozzi's work, "How Gertrude teaches her children." The passages of deep pathos in the book took powerful hold of my mind, the new and great ideas excited strong hopes in me; at that time I was carried away on the wings of those hopes over Pestalozzi's errors and failures, and I had not the experience which would have enabled me to detect these easily, and to examine them critically.

About the same time I read the Report to the Parents on the state of the Pestalozzian Institution, which has already been mentioned; it removed every doubt in my mind as to the possibility of seeing my boldest hopes realized. Hereupon, I immediately resolved to go to

Yverdun, which appeared to me a green oasis, full of fresh and living springs, in the midst of the great desert of my native land, on which rested the curse of Napoleon.

A friend accompanied me to Yverdun, where we arrived towards the end of October. It was in the evening of a cold rainy day that we alighted at the hotel called the Red House. The next morning we went to the old castle, built by Charles the Bold, which with its four great round towers incloses a courtyard. Here we met a multitude of boys; we were conducted to Pestalozzi. He was dressed in the most negligent manner: he had on an old grey overcoat, no waistcoat, a pair of breeches, and stockings hanging down over his slippers; his coarse bushy black hair uncombed and frightful. His brow was deeply furrowed, his dark brown eyes were now soft and mild, now full of fire. You hardly noticed that the old man, so full of geniality, was ugly; you read in his singular features long continued suffering and great hopes.

Soon after, we saw Niederer, who gave me the impression of a young Roman Catholic priest; Krüsi, who was somewhat corpulent, fair, blue-eyed, mild, and benevolent; and Schmid, who was, if possible, more cynical in his dress than Pestalozzi, with sharp features and eyes like those of a bird of prey.

At that time 137 pupils, of ages varying from six to seventeen years, lived in the institution; 28 lodged in the town, but dined in the institution. There were in all, therefore, 165 pupils. Among them there were 78 Swiss; the rest were Germans, French, Russians, Italians, Spaniards, and Americans. Fifteen teachers resided in the institution, nine of whom were Swiss teachers, who had been educated there. Besides these, there were 32 persons who were studying the method; seven of them were natives of Switzerland. The interior of the building made a mournful impression on me; but the situation was extremely beautiful. An extensive meadow separates it from the southern end of the glorious lake of Neufchâtel, on the west side of which rises the Jura range of mountains, covered with vineyards. From the heights of the Jura, above the village of Granson, rendered famous by the defeat of Charles the Bold, you survey on the one side the entire chain of the Alps, from Mount Pilatus, near Lucerne, to Mont Blanc; on the other side you see far away into France.

A short time after my arrival, I went to live in the institution, where I took my meals, and slept along with the children. If I wanted to do any work for myself, I had to do it while standing at a writing-desk in the midst of the tumult of one of the classes. None of the teachers had a sitting-room to himself. I was fully determined to devote all my energies thenceforth to the institution, and accordingly I had brought with me Freddy Reichardt, the brother of my future wife, a boy of eight years, and now placed him among the other scholars. My position was well suited to enable me to compare the report on the institution with what I daily saw and experienced. The higher my expectations had been raised by that report, the deeper was my pain, as I was gradually undeceived; I even thought I saw the last hopes of my native land disappear.

It is scarcely necessary for me to particularize the respects in which I was undeceived; they may be learnt from Pestalozzi's notes to the

latter copy of his report, but especially from his work, "The Fortunes of my Life." Nevertheless I will advert to one or two principal points.

I will particularly advert to what is said in the report about the spirit of the institution, which is represented as being similar to that which pervades a family.

"We may with a good conscience," say the writers of the report, "declare publicly that the children in our institution are happy and cheerful; that their innocence is preserved, their religious disposition cherished, their minds formed, their knowledge increased, their hearts elevated. The arrangements which have been adopted for attaining these objects possess a quiet inward power. They are based principally on the benevolent and amiable character which distinguishes the teachers of our house, and which is supported by a vigorous activity. There reigns throughout the entire institution the spirit of a great domestic union, in which, according to the requirements of such a union, a pure paternal and fraternal feeling everywhere shines forth. The children feel themselves free, their activity finds even a powerful charm in their employments; the confidence reposed in them, and the affection shown towards them, elevate their sentiments." "The life in the house is, to a rare extent, a school for cultivating domestic affection and domestic unity." "All the teachers in common, acting as an organized whole, do for all the children what a careful mother does for the few children of her own family." The body of teachers "attains the most perfect unity of thought and action, and appears to the children as only one person."

"In general, it is to be remarked that we seek throughout to awaken and to foster the spirit of peace, of love, and of mutual brotherly fellowship. The disposition of the great body of our inmates is good. A spirit of strength, of repose, and of endeavour rests on the whole. There is much in our midst that is eminently good. Some pupils evince an angelic disposition, full of love and of a presentiment of higher thoughts and a higher existence. The bad ones do not feel themselves comfortable in the midst of our life and labor; on the other hand, every spark of good and noble feeling which still glimmers even in the bad ones is encouraged and developed. The children are in general neither hardened by punishment, nor rendered vain and superficial by rewards. The mild forbearance of the most amiable household has the most undisturbed play in our midst. The children's feelings are not lightly wounded. The weak are not made to compare themselves with the strong, but with themselves. We never ask a pupil if he can do what another does. We only ask him if he can do a thing. But we always ask him if he can do it perfectly. As little of the struggle of competition takes place between one pupil and another, as between affectionate brothers and sisters who live with a loving mother in a happy condition."

"We live together united in brotherly love, free and cheerful, and are, in respect to that which we acknowledge as the one thing needful, one heart and one soul. We may also say that our pupils are one heart and one soul with us. They feel that we treat them in a fatherly manner; they feel that we serve them and that we are glad to serve them; they feel that we do not merely instruct them; they feel that

for their education we give life and motion to everything in them that belongs to the character of man. They also hang with their whole hearts on our actions. They live in the constant consciousness of their own strength."

Must not even a sober reader of these passages be led to believe that a spirit of the most cordial love and concord reigned in a rare manner in the Pestalozzian institution. How much more did I believe so, who, deeply distressed by the calamities of those days, and inspired with hope by the eloquence of Fichte, perceived in Yverdun the commencement of a better time, and ardently longed to hasten its approach. Those who did not themselves live through those years of anguish, in which injustice increased and love waxed cold in the hearts of many, may perhaps smile at the enthusiasm of despair.

Pestalozzi himself says of the institution that, as early as the time when it was removed from Buchsee to Yverdun, it bare within itself "the seeds of its own internal decay (these are his own words) in the unequal and contradictory character of the abilities, opinions, inclinations, and claims of its members; although as yet this dissension had done anything but declare itself general, unrestrained, and fierce." He says, that nevertheless many of the members were still desirous for peace, and that others were moderate in their views and feelings. "But the seeds of our decay had been sown, and though they were still invisible in many places, had taken deep root. Led aside by worldly temptations and apparent good fortune from the purity, simplicity, and innocence of our first endeavours, divided among ourselves in our inmost feelings, and from the first made incapable, by the heterogeneous nature of our peculiarities of ever becoming of one mind and one heart in spirit and in truth for the attainment of our objects, we stood there outwardly united, even deceiving ourselves with respect to the real truth of our inclination to this union, and unfortunately we advanced, each one in his own manner, with firm and at one time with rapid steps along a path which, without our being really conscious of it, separated us every day further from the possibility of our ever becoming united.

What Ramsauer says entirely agrees with this. In Burgdorf, he says, there reigned a kindly spirit. "This ceased when the family life was transformed in the institution into a constitutional state existence. Now the individual was more easily lost in the crowd: thus there arose on his part to make himself felt and noticed. Egotism made its appearance every day in more offensive forms. Envy and jealousy rankled in the breasts of many." "Much indeed was said about 'a domestic life,' which ought to prevail in an educational establishment, just as a very great deal was said and written about 'an harmonious development of all the faculties of the pupil'; but both existed more in theory than in practice. It is true, that a good deal of common interest was evinced in the general working of the institution, but the details were allowed to go on or stand still very much as they might, and the tone of the whole house was more a tone of pushing and driving than one of domestic quietude."

In the report is this passage: "In respect to the execution of the design, we may say decidedly that the institution has stood the fiery ordeal of eight severe years."

On this passage Pestalozzi remarks as follows in 1823: "What is here said in confirmation of this view is altogether a consequence of the great delusion under which we lay at that period, namely, that all those things in regard to which we had strong intentions and some clear ideas, were really as they ought to have been, and as we should have liked to make them. But the consequences of the partial truth which in this instance had hold of our minds were, from want of sufficient knowledge, ability, and skill for carrying it out, fixed in our midst, confused, and made the seed of countless weeds, by which the good seed that lay in the ground was on all sides crowded, and here and there choked. Neither did we perceive the weeds at that time; indeed, as we then lived, thought, acted, and dreamt, it was impossible that we should perceive them."

I am fully aware that by some these later observations of Pestalozzi have been attributed partly to the weakness of old age, partly to the influence of Schmid. To this I cannot assent. As early as new year's day, 1808, at the same time as the report appeared, Pestalozzi said to his teachers: "My work was founded in love; love vanished from our midst; it could not but vanish. We deceived ourselves as to the strength which this love demands; it could not but vanish.—I am no longer in a position to provide any help for it. The poison which eats into the heart of our work is accumulating in our midst. Worldly honor will increase this poison. O God, grant that we may no longer be overcome by our delusion. I look upon the laurels which are strewn in our path as laurels set up over a skeleton. I see before my eyes the skeleton of my work, in so far as it is my work. I desire to place it before your eyes. I saw the skeleton which is in my house appear crowned with laurels before my eyes, and the laurels suddenly go up in flames. They cannot bear the fire of affliction which must and will come upon my house; they will disappear; they must disappear. My work will stand. But the consequences of my faults will not pass away. I shall be vanquished by them. My deliverance is the grave. I go away, but you remain. Would that these words now stood before your eyes in flames of fire!—Friends, make yourselves better than I was, that God may finish his work through you, as he does not finish it through me. Make yourselves better than I was. Do not by your faults lay those same hindrances in your way that I have lain in mine. Do not let the appearance of success deceive you, as it deceived me. You are called to higher, to general sacrifice, or you too will fail to save my work. Enjoy the passing hour, enjoy the fulness of worldly honor, the measure of which has risen for us to its greatest height; but remember that it vanishes like the flower of the field, which blooms for a little while, but soon passes away."

What contradictions! Does then the same fountain send forth both sweet and bitter? Was the report actually intended to deceive the world?

Never; but Pestalozzi was not entirely free from an unfortunate spirit of wordly calculation, although his calculations in most cases turned out incorrect. Ever full of the idea of spreading happiness over many lands, in a short time, by means of his methods of instruction and education, he naturally considered it all-important that

people should have a good opinion of his institution. By the bulk of the public, indeed, the institution was taken as substantial evidence for or against the excellence and practicability of his educational ideas : with it they stood or fell.

The concern which Pestalozzi felt about the reputation of his establishment became especially apparent when foreigners, particularly persons of distinction, visited Yverdun. "As many hundred times in the course of the year," says Ramsauer, "as foreigners visited the Pestalozzian Institution, so many hundred times did Pestalozzi allow himself, in his enthusiasm, to be deceived by them. On the arrival of every fresh visiter, he would go to the teachers in whom he placed most confidence and say to them : 'This is an important personage, who wants to become acquainted with all we are doing. Take your best pupils and their analysis-books (copy-books in which the lessons were written out), and show him what we can do and what we wish to do.' Hundreds and hundreds of times there came to the institution, silly, curious, and often totally uneducated persons, who came because it was the 'fashion.' On their account, we usually had to interrupt the class instruction and hold a kind of examination. In 1814, the aged Prince Esterhazy came. Pestalozzi ran all over the house, calling out : 'Ramsauer, Ramsauer, where are you ? Come directly with your best pupils to the Red House (the hotel at which the Prince had alighted). He is a person of the highest importance and of infinite wealth ; he has thousands of bond-slaves in Hungary and Austria. He is certain to build schools and set free his slaves, if he is made to take an interest in the matter.' I took about fifteen pupils to the hotel. Pestalozzi presented me to the Prince with these words : 'This is the teacher of these scholars, a young man who fifteen years ago migrated with other poor children from the canton of Appenzell and came to me. But he received an elementary education, according to his individual aptitudes, without let or hindrance. Now he is himself a teacher. Thus you see that there is as much ability in the poor as in the richest, frequently more ; but in the former it is seldom developed, and even then, not methodically. It is for this reason that the improvement of the popular schools is so highly important. But he will show you every thing that we do better than I could. I will, therefore, leave him with you for the present.' I now examined the pupils, taught, explained, and bawled, in my zeal, till I was quite hoarse, believing that the Prince was thoroughly convinced about everything. At the end of an hour, Pestalozzi returned. The Prince expressed his pleasure at what he had seen. He then took leave, and Pestalozzi, standing on the steps of the hotel, said : 'He is quite convinced, quite convinced, and will certainly establish schools on his Hungarian estates.' When we had descended the stairs, Pestalozzi said : 'Whatever ails my arm ? It is so painful. Why, see ! it is quite swollen, I can't bend it.' And in truth his wide sleeve was now too small for his arm. I looked at the key of the house-door of the *Maison rouge* and said to Pestalozzi : 'Look here, you struck yourself against this key when we were going to the Prince an hour ago.' On closer observation it appeared that Pestalozzi had actually bent the key by hitting his elbow against it. In the first hour afterwards he had not noticed the pain, for the excess of his zeal and his joy. So ardent and

zealous was the good old man, already numbering seventy years, when he thought he had an opportunity of doing good. I could adduce many such instances. It was nothing rare in summer for strangers to come to the castle four or five times in the same day, and for us to have to interrupt the instruction on their account two, three, or four times."

After this highly characteristic account, I ask the reader whether he will cast a stone at the amiable and enthusiastic old man? I certainly will not, though I could heartily have wished that, faithful in small things and mindful of the grain of mustard seed, he had planted his work in stillness, and that it had been slow and sound in its growth, even if it had been observed by only a few.

The source of the internal contradiction which runs through the life of Pestalozzi, was, as we saw from his own confessions, the fact that, in spite of his grand ideal, which comprehended the whole human race, he did not possess the ability and skill requisite for conducting even the smallest village school. His highly active imagination led him to consider and describe as actually existing in the institution whatever he hoped sooner or later to see realized. His hopeful spirit foresaw future development in what was already accomplished, and expected that others would benevolently do the same. This bold assumption had an effect on many, especially on the teachers of the institution. This appears to explain how, in the report on the institution, so much could be said *bona fide* which a sober spectator was forced to pronounce untrue.

But this self-delusion is never of long duration; the period of overstrung enthusiasm is followed by one of hopelessness and dejection. The heart of man is indeed an alternately proud and dejected thing! Such an ebb and flow of lofty enthusiasm and utter despair pervades the entire life of Pestalozzi. The address which he delivered to his teachers in 1808 appears almost as the *caput mortuum* of the report: the truth at last makes itself heard in tones of bitter remorse. Pestalozzi makes a more tranquil confession concerning the earlier times of Yverdun, at a later period of his life, in his autobiography. More than sixteen years had elapsed, and passion had cooled down. He states soberly what he had enthusiastically wished to accomplish in those earlier days; he acknowledges that he had deceived himself; and he can now therefore relate the history of the institution clearly and truthfully. But the times less removed from him are still too present to his feelings, too near to his impassioned gaze, for him to be able to delineate them with the same historical clearness in that work.

The report speaks of the instruction imparted in the institution in a way which cannot have failed to give offence to persons who were not enthusiastically prejudiced in favor of Pestalozzi. Listen to these remarks:—

"With regard to the subjects of the instruction generally, the following is what may be stated. The child learns to know and exercise himself, that is, his physical, intellectual, moral, and religious faculties. With this instruction to the child about himself, instruction about nature keeps pace. Commencing with the child in his domestic relations, the latter instruction gradually embraces human nature in all the above-mentioned aspects. And, in the same way, commencing with

the circle of the child's observation, it gradually embraces the whole of external nature. From the first starting-point, the child is led to an insight into the essential relations of mankind and society; from the second, to an insight into the relations in which the human race stands to external nature, and external nature to the human race. Man and nature, and their mutual relation, constitute, therefore, the primary matter of the instruction; and from these subjects the knowledge of all separate branches of study is developed. It must here be remarked, however, that the aim of the instruction is not to make the pupils comprehend man and nature merely externally, that is, merely in so far as they present isolated empirical characteristics, capable of being arranged either in a logical sequence of separate units, or in any other order that may be convenient. The aim is rather to make the pupils observe things as a living and organic whole, harmoniously bound together by necessary and eternal laws, and developing itself from something simple and original, so that we may thus bring them to see how one thing is linked in another. The instruction, as a whole, does not proceed from any theory, but from the very life and substance of nature; and every theory appears only as the expression and representation of this observed life and substance."

I am relieved from the necessity of offering any criticism on this passage by a note which Pestalozzi added to it fifteen years later. "In this and several other passages," says the venerable old man, "I express, not so much my own peculiar views on education in their original simplicity, as certain immature philosophical views, with which, at that time, notwithstanding all our good intentions, most of the inmates of our house, myself among the rest, must needs perplex our heads, and which brought me personally to a standstill in my endeavours. These views caused the house and the institution, both of which attained at this period a seeming flourishing condition, to go rotten at the roots; and they are to be looked upon as the hidden source of all the misfortunes which have since come upon me."

It would take too long to follow the report in the accounts which it gives of the instruction in the separate branches of knowledge. In everything Pestalozzi wants to be entirely novel, and just for this reason he falls into mistakes. Take, as a specimen, the following on the instruction in geography:—

"The instruction in this subject begins with the observation of the district in which we live, as a type of what the surface of the earth presents. It is then separated into elementary instruction, which includes physical, mathematical, and political geography, and (2) the topographical part, in which each of the departments of the subject suggested by the observation of the surrounding district is prosecuted in a graduated course, and their reciprocal bearings brought out. By this foundation, the pupils are prepared for forming a clear and comprehensive view of the earth and man, and their mutual influence on each other, of the condition of states and peoples, of the progress of the human race in intellectual culture, and lastly of physical science in its broader outlines and more general relations. The children are made acquainted with the statistical portion of the subject, that is, the natural productions, the number of inhabitants, form of government, &c., by means of tabular views.

After this, need we wonder when we find Pestalozzi, in his memoirs, speaking of the earlier days of Yverdun in the following manner? "The desire of governing, in itself unnatural, was called forth among us at this period, on the one hand, by the reputation of our modes of instruction, which continued to increase after our return to Yverdun, and the intoxicating good fortune that streamed to nearly every fool who hung out the sign-board of an elementary method which, in reality, did not as yet exist; on the other, by the audacity of our behaviour towards the whole world, and towards everything that was done in education and was not cast in our mould. The thing is melancholy; but it is true. We poor weak birds presumed to take our little nestlings, ere they were fairly out of their shells, on flights which even the strongest birds do not attempt until their young ones have gained strength in many previous trials. We announced publicly things which we had neither the strength nor the means to accomplish. There are hundreds and hundreds of these vain boastings of which I do not like to speak."

No wonder that, in this state of things, there arose a determined opposition to the institution. In Switzerland especially, Pestalozzi says, the public journals began "to speak decidedly against our pretensions, asserting that what we did was by no means what we considered and represented ourselves to be doing. But (he continues) instead of penitently returning to modesty, we sturdily resisted this opposition. While participating in this temerity, which is now incomprehensible to me, I began to be sensible that we were treading in paths which might lead us astray, and that, in truth, many things in the midst of us were not as they should have been, and as we endeavoured to make them appear in the eyes of the world."

Other members of the institution thought quite differently; full of self-confidence, they pressed for a formal examination; and, in the month of May, 1809, an application to that effect was made to the Swiss Diet, then assembled at Freiburg. The request was granted, and Merian, member of the executive council of Basel; Trechsel, professor of mathematics, at Bern; and Père Girard, of Freiburg, were commissioned by Governor D'Affry to examine the institution.

In November, 1809, just after I had arrived in Yverdun, this commission of inquiry came down and remained five days. They were five sultry days for Pestalozzi and his teachers; it was felt that the commission, which confined itself strictly to actual results, would make no very enthusiastic report. Père Girard wrote the report in French, Professor Trechsel translated it into German; on the 12th of May, 1810, it was presented to the Diet, then assembled at Solothurn. In the following year, the thanks of the country were accorded to Pestalozzi, by the Diet; and there the matter was allowed to rest.

I believe that the commission pronounced an impartial judgment; the conclusion of the report speaks for the whole. "The educational methods of the institution (say the commissioners) stand only in very imperfect connexion with our establishments for public instruction. The institution has in noway aimed at coming into harmony with these public schools. Determined at any price to interest all the faculties of children, in order to guide their development according to its own principles, it has taken counsel of its own views only, and betrays an

irresistible desire to open for itself new paths, even at the cost of never treading in those which usage has now established. This was perhaps the right means for arriving at useful discoveries, but it was also a design which rendered harmony impossible. The institution pursues its own way; the public institutions pursue theirs; and there is no probability that both ways will very soon meet. It is a pity that the force of circumstances has always driven Mr. Pestalozzi beyond the career which his pure zeal and his fervent charity had marked out for him. A good intention, noble endeavours, indefatigable perseverance, should and will always meet with justice. Let us profit by the excellent ideas which lie at the foundation of the whole undertaking; let us follow its instructive examples; but let us also lament that an adverse fate must hang over a man, who, by the force of circumstances, is constantly hindered from doing what he would wish to do."

After the publication of the report, there arose a long and violent literary warfare, which did anything but add to the credit of the institution.* With this war against external foes, was unfortunately associated an internal feud, which ended in the departure of Schmid and others of the teachers.

One of Pestalozzi's biographers states, that Schmid's pride and pretensions had grown to such an extent, that he had acted with the greatest harshness towards Pestalozzi, Niederer, and Krüsi. "This was caused," continues the biographer, "by some ideas which he had partially caught up from two scientific men who were then stopping with Pestalozzi (one of them is now a man of note in Silesia). Perhaps at that time these ideas were not very clearly defined in the minds of those men themselves."†

The biographer means me and my friend;‡ I shall therefore not be misunderstood, if I relate briefly the matter to which he refers.

I had come to learn and to render service. On this account, I took up my quarters entirely in the old building of the institution, slept in one of the large dormitories, took my meals with the children, attended the lessons, morning and evening prayers, and the conferences of the teachers. I listened and observed attentively in silence; but I was far from thinking of commencing myself to teach. My opinion upon all the things that I saw and heard was formed very much with reference to the boy of eight years intrusted to my care, accordingly as they contributed to his comfort or otherwise. Several weeks had passed on in this way, when I was one evening with Pestalozzi and the rest of the teachers at the hotel of the Wild Man, where they used to meet I think once a fortnight. After supper, Pestalozzi called me into an

* The well-known K. L. von Haller noticed the report of the commission in terms of high praise, in the *Göttingen Literary Advertiser* of the 13th of April, 1811, and at the same time accused the Pestalozzian Institution of inspiring its pupils with an aversion from religion, the constituted authorities, and the aristocracy. In reply to this, Niederer wrote "The Pestalozzian Institution to the Public." This pamphlet appeared in a new form in 1812, under the title, "Pestalozzi's Educational Undertaking in relation to the Civilization of the Present Time." Bremi, of Zurich, wrote in reply to the former pamphlet; Pestalozzi and Niederer wrote again in reply to Bremi. Niederer professes to have convicted Bremi of ninety-two lies, thirty-six falsifications, and twenty calumnies.

† Henning, in the Schulrath (an educational periodical).

‡ Rudolph von Przystanowski, who is now (1846) in Mexico.

adjoining room ; we were quite alone. " My teachers are afraid of you," he said, " because you only listen and look on in silence ; why do you not teach ? " I answered that before teaching, I wished to learn—to learn in silence. After the conversation had touched on one thing and another, he frankly told me things about several of his teachers which put me into a state of astonishment, and which stood in direct contradiction with what I had read in the report, but not with what I had myself already observed or expected. Pestalozzi followed up these disclosures with the proposal, that I and my friend, in company with Schmid, whom he highly praised, especially for his practical ability and his activity, should set to work to renovate the institution.

The proposal came upon me so unexpectedly, that I begged for time to think of it, and discussed the matter with my friend, who was just as much surprised as I was. We were both naturally brought by this means into a closer relation with Schmid, became in a short time acquainted with the *arcana imperii*, and honestly considered what obstacles stood in the way of the prosperity of the institution, and what could be done to remove them.

Foremost of these was the intermixture of German and French boys, which doubly pained me, as I had come from Paris. The parents thought otherwise : they perceived in this very intermixture a fortunate means of training their children in the easiest way to speak both languages : whereas the result was, that the children could speak neither. With such a medley of children, the institution was devoid of a predominant mother-tongue, and assumed the mongrel character of border-provinces. Pestalozzi read the prayers every morning and evening, first in German, then in French ! At the lessons in the German language, intended for German children, I found French children who did not understand the most common German word. This, and much more that was to be said against this intermixture, was now discussed with Pestalozzi, and the proposal was made to him, to separate the institution into two departments, one for German, the other for French children. Only in this way, it was represented to him, could the education of each class of children be successfully conducted.

The proposal was not accepted, chiefly on account of external obstacles, which might however have been overcome. A passage in Pestalozzi's " Fortunes " shows that he afterwards thoroughly agreed with us. In this passage he calls it an unnatural circumstance, that the institution was transplanted from Burgdorf to Yverdun, " from German to French soil." " When we first come here," he continues, " our pupils were nearly all Germans ; but there was very soon added to them an almost equal number of French children. Most of the German children were now intrusted to us, not with any particular reference to an elementary or other education, but simply in order that they might learn to speak French in a German house, and this was the very thing that we were least able to teach them ; so also most of the French parents intrusted their children to us, in order that they might learn German in our German house : and here we stood between these two claims, equally unable to satisfy either the one or the other. At the same time, the persons on either side, who committed their children to our care, saw with as little distinctness what they really wished of us, as we did the extent of our inability to satisfy their real wishes. But it had

now become the fashion to send us children from all sides ; and so, in respect to pecuniary resources and eulogistic prattle, things went on for a considerable time in their old glittering but deceptive path."

The second evil was this. Much as is said in the report about the life in the institution having quite the character of that in a family, and even excelling it in many respects, still nothing could be less domestic than this life was. Leaving out of consideration Pestalozzi's residence, there were indeed in the old castle class rooms, dining rooms, and bed rooms, but the parlour, so justly esteemed by Pestalozzi, was altogether wanting. Older boys who, as the expression is, had arrived at years of indiscretion, may have felt this want less ; but so much the more was it felt by the youngest—by children of six to ten years. I felt deeply on this account for my little Freddy, who, until he came to the institution, had grown up under the care of a tender mother in a lovely family circle. His present uncomfortable and even desolate existence grieved me much, and troubled my conscience. For his sake, and at the same time, for the sake of the rest of the little boys, we begged Pestalozzi to rent a beautiful dwelling-house in the vicinity of Yverdun, where the children might find a friendly compensation for the life of the family circle which they had lost. We offered to take up our abode with them.

This proposal also was declined. It may easily be supposed that in the consultation upon it, the weak side of the institution, the want of a parlour, and the impossibility even of supplying the place of the family life, was very fully discussed.*

Many of the conversations I had with Pestalozzi I shall never forget. One of them concerned the teachers of the institution, in particular the under-teachers. I saw that many of them labored with the greatest fidelity and conscientiousness, even sacrificing themselves for the good of the institution. I need only refer the reader to the autobiography of honest, manful Ramsauer, for evidence of this fact. But still there was something wanting in most of the teachers; this Pestalozzi himself could not help feeling. In his new year's address of 1811, he said to them : "Do not attach a higher value to the ability to teach well, than that which it really has in relation to education as a whole. You have, perhaps, too early in your lives had to bear burdens which may have diminished somewhat the lovely bloom of your youth; but to you, as educators, that bloom is indispensable. You must seek to restore it. I am not ignorant of your ability, your worth; but just because I know them, I would wish to set upon them the crown of an amiable disposition, which will increase your worth and make even your ability a blessing."

In what then were the teachers deficient? Pestalozzi points out one thing : many who had grown up in the institution had too early borne burdens, and had been kept in uninterrupted exertion. "Those teachers who had been pupils of Pestalozzi," says Ramsauer, "were

* We made a third proposal, because it appeared to us to be impossible that Pestalozzi's ideas could be realized in Yverdun under the then existing circumstances. We asked him to establish in the canton of Argovia the long-promised poor school, and offered to engage in the work ourselves to the best of our ability. As he declined this proposal also, I thought it my duty, especially on account of the boy confided to me, to leave the institution.

particularly hard worked, for he at all times required much more from them, than he did from the other teachers; he expected them to live entirely for the house,—to be day and night concerned for the welfare of the house and the pupils. They were to help to bear every burden, every unpleasantness, every domestic care, and to be responsible for everything. Thus, for example, in their leisure hours (that is when they had no lessons to give) they were required at one time to work some hours every day in the garden, at another, to chop wood for the fires, and, for some time, even to light them early in the morning, or transcribe, &c. There were some years in which no one of us was found in bed after three o'clock in the morning; and we had to work summer and winter, from three in the morning till six in the evening.* Nearly all the work consisted in the direct performance of school duties; the teachers had no time to think of their own improvement.

There was another thing. Most of the teachers of the institution might be regarded as so many separate and independent teachers, who had indeed received their first instruction there, but who had passed much too soon from learning to teaching, and wished to see how they could fight their way through. There was never any such thing as a real pedagogical lecture. Under such a course of training, it could not happen otherwise than that some of the teachers should strike into peculiar paths; of this Schmid gave an example. But it was an equally necessary consequence, that the usual characteristic of such teachers should make itself apparent: namely, a great want of self-knowledge and of a proper modest estimate of their own labors.

“Man only learns to know himself in man.”

I must know what others have done in my department of science, in order that I may assign the proper place and rank to my own labors. It is incredible, how many of the mistaken views and practices of Pestalozzi and his teachers sprang from this source.

But there was a third thing that I brought against Pestalozzi: his view of the teachers, and their relation to the methods and the methodical compendiums. As already mentioned, the compendiums were to render all peculiar talent and skill in teaching as good as unnecessary. These methodical compendiums were like dressing machines, which did not, unfortunately, quite supply the place of the teachers, but still left the services of a man necessary; just as in the most perfect printing presses, a man must always be appointed, though indeed he scarcely requires the most ordinary degree of intelligence.

Pestalozzi's idea of a teacher was not much better than this; according to his views, such a one had nothing to do, but to take his scholars through the compendium, with pedantic accuracy, according to the directions how to use it, without adding thereto, or diminishing therefrom. He was never required to be more than just a step in advance of the scholars. Just as if a guide with a lantern were to be given to a man travelling in the night, and the guide had not only to light the traveller, but first to find out the way himself with the aid of the lantern. The real teacher must have the destination and the road to it, so clear before his mind, that he shall be able to guide the scholars

* Ramsauer's time-table shows that, from two or three o'clock in the morning till nine in the evening, he was almost constantly occupied with official duties.

without a lantern—without a book of method. He must be able to say, *La méthode c'est moi.**

But can any one imagine a more miserable piece of slave-work than that of a teacher who is strictly tied to a Pestalozzian compendium? Is not all peculiar teaching power thereby fettered,—all disposition to sprightliness and decision in teaching and acting kept down,—all affectionate relation between teacher and scholar rendered impossible?†

At that time the institution appeared to me, in moments of sadness, as a great noisy education-factory; many mistook the dull noise of the machines for an expression of youthful joyousness on the part of the pupils, while engaged in learning.

Pestalozzi's view of the task of the teachers was too intimately connected with his general views on education, and had been too much realized in the institution to allow me to entertain the idea of his changing it, although the good old man bitterly felt that my observation was not without foundation.

At a later period, when the brilliancy of the reputation of the institution was decreasing more and more, Pestalozzi saw his under-teachers in the year 1817, as he relates, "suddenly combine, like English factory work-people, desist by common consent from the performance of their duties, and declare in a body that they would give no more lessons, but would remain in a state of complete strike-idleness, until the salary of every one of them should be doubled."

Pestalozzi pressed me to teach mineralogy, and in doing so to make use of a small collection of minerals which the institution possessed. I replied that, if I did do so, I must entirely depart from the methods of instruction pursued in the institution. How so? asked Pestalozzi. According to that method, I replied, I should have to do nothing but to hold up before the boys one specimen of the collection after another, to give the name of each, for example, "that is chalk," and thereupon to make the class repeat in unison three times, "that is chalk." It was thought that in this way the observation of actual objects and instruction in language were provided for at the same time.‡

I endeavoured to explain that such a mode of instruction made a mere show, giving the children words before they had formed an idea of the images of the minerals; that moreover this process of perception and conception was only disturbed by the talking of the teacher and the repetition of the scholars, and was therefore best done in silence. On Pestalozzi's opposing this view, I asked him why children are born speechless, and do not begin to learn to speak until they are about three years old; why we should in vain hold a light before a child eight days old, and say "light" three times, or even a hundred times,

* "Every teacher," says Herder, "must have his own method; he must have created it with intelligence for himself, otherwise he will not be successful."

† On leaving Verdun in 1810 and going to Berlin, I attended an examination at Plamann's institution. How the free, independent, and untrammelled teaching of Friesen and Harnisch contrasted with the cold, methodical, and constrained teaching of many Pestalozzian teachers!

‡ This reminds me of an American lady, said to be a distinguished teacher, who lately came over to this country, and propounded it as a new and important discovery, that the subject matter of a reading lesson might be taught at the same time with the mere reading.—Tr.

as the child would certainly not try to repeat the word; whether this was not an indication to us from a higher hand, that time is necessary for the external perception of the senses to become internally appropriated, so that the word shall only come forth as the matured fruit of the inward conception now fully formed. What I said about the silence of children struck Pestalozzi.*

* The instruction given at the present day by many English teachers in their so-called object lessons, is very much the same as that to which Raumer refers, and from which it was indeed in the first instance copied. Professor Moseley gives the following graphic description of the general characteristics of these lessons in his last report on training schools:—

"A teacher proposing to give an oral lesson on coal, for instance, holds a piece of it up before his class, and having secured their attention, he probably asks them to which kingdom it belongs: animal, vegetable, or mineral—a question in no case of much importance, and to be answered, in the case of coal, doubtfully. Having, however, extracted that answer which he intends to get from the children, he induces them by many ingenious devices, much circumlocution, and an extravagant expenditure of the time of the school, to say that it is a *solid*, that it is *heavy*, that it is *opaque*, that it is *black*, that it is *friable*, and that it is *combustible*. And then the time has probably expired, and the lesson on the science of common things, assumed to be so useful to a child, is completed.

"In such a lesson, the teacher affords evidence of no other knowledge of the particular thing which was the subject of it, than the children might be supposed to have known before the lesson began. He gives it easily, because the form is the same for every lesson; the blanks having only to be differently filled up every time it is repeated. All that it is adapted for, is to teach them the meanings of some unusual words,—words useless to them, because they apply to abstract ideas, and which, as the type of all such lessons is the same, he has probably often taught them before.

"He has shown some knowledge of words, but none of things. Of the particular thing called coal, as distinguished from any other thing, he knows nothing more than the child; but only of certain properties common to it, and almost everything else, and of certain words useless to poor children, which describe those properties: coal is a *common* thing to a child, one with which its daily observation is familiar, intimately connected with the uses of its life—a substance about which it might be taught many things which would probably be of great use to it in after life—things which it would not be likely ever to know, unless it were so taught them. But they are not *these* things; and if the science of common things is to be so taught, as to be of any future use to the child, it must not be this science."

It may be proper to remark that the original Pestalozzian object lessons are not fairly chargeable with the folly of teaching children long adjectives of foreign extraction, as the names of the qualities of the objects. This is an additional error, into which English teachers have been led by the mixed character of our language. In the German, which is a primitive language, the words denoting the qualities of the objects are either simple words in the language or are formed from such, and are therefore readily understood by the German children. We will make this apparent by giving the German equivalents of some of the words commonly used in the object lessons of English teachers:—

"Transparent" is *durchsichtig* (seethroughable); "semi-transparent" is *halb-durchsichtig* (halfseethroughable); "opaque" is *undurchsichtig* (notseethroughable); "sonorous" is *klingend* (sounding); "sapid" is *schmackhaft* (tasty); "odorous" is *riechend* (smelling); "inodorous" is *geruchlos* (smellless); "amorphous" is *gestaltlos* (shapeless); "absorbent" is *einsaugend* (insucking); &c.

However much Pestalozzi's object lessons may have been abused by his own immediate pupils and by his English followers, still it must not be forgotten that to him belongs the merit of having been the first to direct attention in any prominent manner to the importance of the *aim* which this species of instruction is intended primarily to attain, namely, the development of the perceptive faculties of the young. Pestalozzi is the real originator of lessons on the science of common things; and, unfortunately, such lessons have made very little progress since his time.—TR.

As far as my recollection extends, I have now related the most important matters that were discussed between Pestalozzi, Schmid, and myself. I should at the present day still uphold the views which I entertained at that time; but, taught by so much experience, I should perhaps be able to do so with greater "clearness" than I could then have done.

But here I will by no means represent myself as blameless, and accuse others. Although I believe that my opinions were right, I know that my conduct was wrong in several respects; but this the unhappy circumstances of the institution will perhaps in some measure excuse. I will only mention one thing. Unfortunately, Niederer and Schmid were already placed in complete opposition to each other by their different capabilities, labors, and aims; in spite of my best endeavours, I found it impossible to effect a mediation between them, there was nothing left me but to side with one or the other. Pestalozzi himself allied me with Schmid, whose resolute and restless activity was a pledge to me that he would render powerful assistance in introducing reforms. I was thus brought almost involuntarily into opposition with Niederer. Even though I did not altogether agree with his views, I ought to have emphatically acknowledged his self-sacrificing enthusiasm. I felt myself drawn to Krüsli by his mild disposition, but he too was against Schmid.

My silent observation was distasteful to the younger teachers; can I blame them for it? While they were toiling with unheard-of exertion from morning till night, and had been toiling in the same manner for years previously, I looked on at their toilsome life with a critical eye. I appeared to them as a strange, quizzing, inactive intruder, and it was inevitable that I should so appear to them. They did not know that I had come with so high an opinion of the institution, that I wished at first only to look on, only to learn, in order to be able afterwards to teach and to assist wherever I could.

That high opinion I had imbibed chiefly from the report. The report led me to form an over-estimate of the excellence of the institution before I went to Yverdun, and this over-estimate led me when there to think too lightly of its labors. I ought to have acknowledged *then*, the honest, conscientious, toilsome industry of several of the teachers, for instance, Ramsauer, even though they did not always bring to light discoveries that were entirely new; misled by the report, I had hoped, it is true, to find there nothing else but new discoveries.

But, notwithstanding all these evils, I should certainly have remained longer at Yverdun, and should have wrought in patient and persevering hope, had I not held it to be my duty to take away the boy intrusted to my care. I quitted Yverdun with him in May, 1810. Soon after my departure, the long restrained enmity there broke out into an open feud. Schmid left the institution, and wrote against it.

YVERDUN. *From 1810 to 1815.*

I should like best to say nothing of these years, which were saddened by the most disgraceful disputes and lawsuits. The existing accounts of the events of this period, having been written by adherents of two parties diametrically opposed to each other, are often directly contradictory. I will relate only a few incidents of importance.

In the summer of 1811, Monsieur Jullien, Napoleon's companion in arms in Egypt, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, visited Yverdun. He remained in the institution six weeks; his observations were embodied in two works.*

During the war of 1814, the hospital department of the Austrian army required that the buildings of the institution should be given up for a hospital. Fortunately, the Emperor Alexander was then at Bascl : Pestalozzi immediately went to him, and was received in the most friendly manner; in consequence of the interposition of the emperor, the hospital was not established at Yverdun at all, and in November of the same year Pestalozzi received the order of St. Vladimir, fourth class.

Schmid's departure from the institution caused a very sensible void, the existence of which was painfully felt. Letters which Pestalozzi wrote to Niederer at that time, bear witness to the evil plight in which the institution was placed. "O Niederer," he writes, "without strength and purity of purpose in those who surround us, all our endeavours after what is great and high are lost; the sublime and good cannot easily unfold themselves where weakness and worthlessness peer forth from all corners—our greatest enemies are under our own roof, and eat from the same dish with us—it is better to be alone than to accept delusive aid from baseness."

In a second letter, Pestalozzi writes: "The internal weakness of our house has opened the mouth of the weakest among us, for them to give us monkey's advice and hold public conferences about us among themselves. The great evil of our house comes from boys who here play the part of men, but who at every other place would be schoolboys."†

In this period falls also the visit of the Prussian Chancellor of State, von Beyme, who entered the institution "with a great predisposition in favor of Pestalozzi," and before he left it expressed himself to the effect, that if the institution held together for another year, he should look upon it as the greatest wonder, for that, in the instruction which he had seen given there, things were wanting which teachers in the lowest village schools would be ashamed to have neglected.

Niederer felt more than any one else the void created by the departure of Schmid. As early as the end of the year 1813, he wrote to Schmid in the most conciliatory manner, and writing on the 10th of February, 1815, he says: "With Pestalozzi, I stake everything I have upon bringing you back. Alone I can do nothing. You know wherein I am deficient, but with you and a few other distinguished and noble-minded men, I do not doubt of the realization of an educational heaven on earth."

Pestalozzi adduces these passages as certain proofs of Schmid's ability, and the high value of his services to the institution: but they also testify to an honorable mind on the part of Niederer, who did not attempt to conceal his own practical incompetency, and who repressed a deep-seated antipathy to Schmid, in order to realize his educational ideal.

* *Précis sur l'institut d'Yverdun en Suisse, 1812;* and *Esprit de la méthode d'éducation de M. Pestalozzi.*

† Biber.

Schmid was then at the head of a school in Bregenz. At Niederer's pressing invitation, he returned to Yverdun in the Easter of 1815, and now commenced a comprehensive reform of the institution, especially in an economical point of view. There soon arose a silent but general antipathy to him.

On the 11th of the following December, Madame Pestalozzi died, aged nearly eighty years, having been the faithful and patient partner of her husband during forty-five years, through times of severe suffering. At her funeral, after a hymn had been sung, Pestalozzi, turning towards the coffin, said: "We were shunned and contemned by all, sickness and poverty bowed us down, and we ate dry bread with tears; what was it that, in those days of severe trial, gave you and me strength to persevere and not cast away our hope?" Thereupon he took up a Bible, which was lying near at hand, pressed it on the breast of the corpse, and said: "From this source you and I drew courage, and strength, and peace." Her grave is under two tall walnut trees in the garden of the castle.

On this sorrowful day, the antipathy of many of the teachers towards Schmid first broke out into open enmity, which was never again appeased, and which positively poisoned the last twelve years of the poor old man's life. From that time every blessing seemed to forsake the institution, and every new undertaking in which Pestalozzi engaged.

Most of the teachers were against Schmid. Blochmann, now (1846) director of a flourishing educational establishment at Dresden, drew up a formal complaint against him, which was signed by Krüsi, Ramsauer, Stern, Ackermann, and others, in all twelve teachers.

In the year 1816, these men left the institution, among them even Krüsi, so many years the fellow-laborer of Pestalozzi. "Father," he wrote to Pestalozzi, "my time of enjoying your presence is past. I must leave your institution, as it is now conducted, if I am not for ever to lose my courage and strength to live for you and your work. For all that you were to me and all that I was able to be to you, I thank God; for all my shortcomings, I pray God and yourself to forgive me."

At length, in 1817, Niederer also separated from the institution;* Pestalozzi tried in vain the following year to reconcile him with Schmid. Both of them acknowledged Pestalozzi as their master, and yet the reconciliation was impossible. They were too much opposed to each other, not merely in natural endowments, but in their aim and object, in the educational ideal which each endeavoured to realize in the institution.

Niederer saw in Pestalozzi a man who had grasped with instinctive profundity the subject of human culture, but had given only a fragmentary view of it, and who could not control the ideas which, as it were, possessed him. Niederer felt himself called to control them philosophically—to build up out of those mighty educational fragments a complete systematic theory.

At first, Pestalozzi could not comprehend him, not understanding his philosophical language. At a later period, Pestalozzi saw in him the

* He announced his departure in a sermon which he preached at Whitsuntide on the occasion of a confirmation which he had to hold!

one man in the institution, who, standing on the pinnacle of German culture, was fitted to assign to the new method its proper place in the region of human culture generally. Only by such a man, he thought, could the educated world, especially Germany, be won over to his educational plans; by such a man must his Swiss idiom be translated into an intelligible *high* German. Nay, for some time he even thought that Niederer understood him better than he understood himself.

Niederer was deficient in the practical skill requisite for carrying out his educational theory, as he himself frequently acknowledged. His intention in the institution was more to observe the results of the practical talent at work there, and in this manner to learn what he could, but at the same time to see that all the teachers wrought together with one mind towards one and the same object—the realization of the educational theory.

No wonder that Pestalozzi, as he again and again affirmed, did not feel himself attracted by Niederer's peculiar character, even at times when the two men stood in a very friendly relation towards each other; and just as little need we wonder that the old man subsequently dissolved a connection, which had been formed by his will rather than his inclination.

But how entirely different was his relation to Schmid! "Inexplicable feelings," he says, "drew me towards him from the moment of his appearance in our circle, as I have never yet felt myself drawn towards any other pupil." Pestalozzi writes characteristically: "I must trace from its origin the *strength* which alone appeared capable of holding us together in this unhappy state." This personified strength was no other than the shepherd boy, Schmid, who had migrated from the Tyrolese mountains to Burgdorf. Pestalozzi says that he soon left his teachers behind him. "By his practical talent and incessant activity," continues Pestalozzi, "he soared above the influence of every other person in the house. I did not conceal that I looked upon the *strength* of this pupil, though still so young, as the main stay of my house." Pestalozzi characterizes Schmid in the same way in an address which he delivered in the year 1818. "I will not," he says, "make more of him than he is to me. I know him. He has a natural power which, in its artlessness, penetrates where much art has often before my own eyes failed to enter. Schmid threw a hard shell about the kernel of my vanishing labors, and saved me."

Niederer also acknowledged in the fullest measure the ability and activity of Schmid. Like Pestalozzi, Niederer saw in him a most indefatigable teacher of mathematics and drawing, who, by his example, as well as by severe censure, could incite the remaining teachers to conscientious activity; he also saw in him a man who, being a pupil of Pestalozzi, was regarded as one of the fruits of the method, and who consequently impressed foreign visitors with a favorable idea of it. Thus it came that, in the year 1814, he hoped everything from a reconciliation with Schmid. But how deceived he found himself, when Pestalozzi gave into Schmid's hands the sceptre over the entire institution.

Blochmann, too, in his complaint, acknowledges Schmid's "activity, perseverance, endurance, punctuality, administrative ability, his merito-

rious services in establishing greater order in the institution, his skill in teaching the elementary branches of mathematics—a rare talent." All these were qualities which neither Pestalozzi nor Niederer possessed, and which, therefore, marked out Schmid as an indispensable member of the staff of teachers. But, if Blochmann and the other teachers who signed the complaint acknowledged this, why did they press for Schmid's removal? Because, they answer, in that document, "the source of all that Schmid does is complete selfishness, ability without humility, without love, without self-denial, sounding brass, a tinkling cymbal, and Schmid himself is wise as the serpent, but not harmless as the dove."

In a letter to Pestalozzi, Niederer reproaches him with having overrated the ability of Schmid, and ability generally.* "Ruin," he says, "entered your institution, when, dazzled and led away by individual instances of brilliant talents and results, you ceased to bestow any particular attention on that which by its nature can work only in silence, although it stands higher than talent, and alone can render the development of talent possible; when you began so to act as if you owed everything to that with which you could make a display, and nothing to that which was not suited to this purpose. Under this fundamental error, I say more, under this fundamental injustice, the mathematical side of the method and the institution was made prominent, as if that singly and solely were the essence of the method and the salvation of humanity. Low and one-sided qualities were honored at the expense of the higher ones. The qualities of good temper, fidelity, love, if they were not joined with those external qualities, were slighted and depreciated in the persons in whom they existed. In the kind of praise which you gave to the manual dexterity of utterly inexperienced youths in particular departments, you placed this dexterity above intelligence, knowledge, and experience."

Let us now return to the history of the institution.

In the Easter of 1816, M. Jullien, already mentioned, came to Yverdun, bringing twenty-four pupils with him from France; but, annoyed, it is said, by Schmid, he quitted the institution the very next year.

As already stated, Niederer separated from the institution in 1817, from which time he conducted the girls' school only, in company with his wife. In the same year, a most ignominious and lamentable law-suit, which lasted seven years, arose concerning the pecuniary affairs of this school, between Pestalozzi and Schmid, on one side, and Niederer, on the other. "It was in July, 1817," says Pestalozzi, "that a letter referring to that quarrel suddenly threw me into a state of inward rage, which was accompanied by an outbreak of real delirium, and placed me in danger of completely losing my reason, and sinking into utter insensibility." Schmid took the old man to Bütet, on the Jura, whose cooling heights acted wholesomely on the endangered state of his nerves. There he poured out his sufferings in poems, in which his soul, now caught in the trammels of the most painful and ignoble relations, utters with wailing, its aspirations after heavenly freedom. Here is one of those poems:—

* The letter is dated the 19th March, 1818.

Fair bow, that smil'st amid the storm,
 Thou tellest of the bliss of God !
 With those soft beams of many hues,
 O shine in this afflicted heart
 Amid its wild and life-long storm !
 Tell me of brighter morn to come,
 O tell me of a better day,
 Fair bow, that joinest earth to heav'n !

Through all the dark and stormy days,
 The Lord hath been a rock to me,
 My soul shall praise His holy name :
 Must I be call'd from this fair earth,
 Ere thou appearest in my heart,
 And bringest with thee heavenly joys
 And that long wished for better day :
 Must I drink out the bitter cup—
 The cup of fierce contending strife
 And enmity not reconciled—
 Till I have drained the deepest dregs :
 Must I from hence depart,
 Ere peace, the peace I seek, is found ?
 I own my burthen of offence,
 My many weaknesses I own,
 And with affection and with tears
 All my offenders I forgive ;
 But death will bring me peace,
 And after death's long night of rest,
 A better day will dawn for me !
 Thou herald of that better day,
 How lovely then wilt thou appear
 Above my still and lonesome grave :
 Fair bow, that shin'st like Hope through tears.

Like snow new fallen on the ground,
 Like those bright flakes of winter-tide
 Which, beaming lovely in the sun,
 Sank into that new-open'd grave,
 Where lay the partner of my days :
 Fair bow, that shin'st with heaven's light,
 Thus lovely, in the hour of death,
 Do thou appear once more to me.
 Through all the dark and stormy days,
 The Lord hath been a rock to me !
 My soul shall praise his holy name !

An attempt, which Pestalozzi made in 1817, to enter into connexion with Fellenberg, was unsuccessful. In 1818, Schmid made an arrangement with Cotta (the great Leipzig publisher) for the publication of a complete edition of Pestalozzi's works; subscriptions to a considerable amount soon flowed in. The emperor of Russia subscribed 5,000 roubles; the king of Prussia, 400 dollars; the king of Bavaria, 700 guilders. Thereupon, Pestalozzi's hopes revived. In a remarkable address, already mentioned, which he delivered on his seventy-third birth-day, the 12th of January, 1818, he stated that he should appropriate to educational purposes, 50,000 French livres, which the subscription would yield.

In the same address, Pestalozzi speaks freely on the subject of his relations to Niederer and Schmid, and justifies himself for having separated from the former and joined with the latter. He hits off Niederer admirably when he says: "I am conscious of a high and

fervent love for him. Only he should not require me to value in him what I do not understand : he should ascribe it to the weakness of my head, not to the hardness of my heart, if I fail to do so, and should not on that account pronounce me ungrateful. But what shall I say ? Here lies the very ground of complaint against me, namely, that I am no longer capable of following the spirit of my endeavours, and that through my incapacity, I cripple and destroy the strength of those who are further advanced in that spirit than myself. It is an old complaint, that my spirit has left me ; that I have outlived myself, and that the truth and the right of my labors have passed from mine into other hands. I know well, also, and I feel it deeply, that I do not possess, in the least degree, some qualifications which are essential to the furtherance of my views ; on the other hand, I know just as certainly, that all those qualifications which I formerly possessed, I still feel myself to possess in some vitality, and with an impulse to apply them to use."

Of this the address affords sufficient proof; I will quote some passages.

" Man has a conscience. The voice of God speaks in every man, and leaves no one unconvinced as to what is good, and what bad; what is right, and what wrong." *

" Contemplate man in the entire range of his development. See, he grows, he is educated, he is trained. He grows by the strength of his own self; he grows by the strength of his very being. He is educated by accident, by the accidental that lies in his condition, in his circumstances, and in his relations. He is trained by art and by the will of man. The growth of man and his powers is God's doing. It proceeds according to eternal and divine laws. The education of man is accidental and dependent on the varying circumstances in which a man finds himself placed. The training of man is moral.† Only by the accordance of the influences of education and training with the eternal laws of human growth is man really educated and trained; by contradiction between the means of his education and training and those eternal laws, man is mis-educated and mis-trained."

Pestalozzi gives a striking delineation of the contrast between the old time and the new. " The time in which we live," he says, " is really a time of excessive artificial refinement, in contradistinction to a high and pure sense of innocence, love, and faith, and that powerful attachment to truth and right which springs from these virtues. Who among us, if he be not an alien that neither knows the present time and its spirit nor has searched into the time of our fathers and its spirit, but must acknowledge that the time of our fathers was a better time, their spirit a better spirit; that their sincerity of purpose had its foundations laid immeasurably deeper, in the religion of the heart, in strong earnestness in domestic and civil life, and in the daily exercise of industry in the good works of a simple and satisfying professional life, than can possibly be the case in our paralysing refinement of the powers of body and soul. Our fathers were cheerful, reasonable, and

* I quote these words only because they stand in fortunate contradiction with some that were adduced from Pestalozzi's " Researches."

† Compare with this what Rousseau says on the threefold education of the child. •

benevolent, in all simplicity." Their circumstances were peculiarly fitted to lead them daily and hourly in all innocence, in faith, and in love, to be good-tempered, reflective, and industrious; but our artificial refinement has rendered us disgusted with our fathers' mode of life, and with the sources of their moral, domestic, and political elevation. We have almost entirely departed from their spirit and their mode of life. But it is for this reason that we have sunk so low in respect to the education of the people. We have the semblance of faith, love, and wisdom, but not the qualities themselves; and we live in a delusion, really without the virtues of our fathers, while they, though possessing those virtues, were by no means satisfied with themselves, as we are. The good and pious foundation which our fathers had in their mode of life itself for their views, feelings, opinions, and usages generally, and particularly in respect to the training of children and the relief of the poor, has sunk under our feet through the deception of our present artificial and frivolous mode of life. We are no longer what we were, and we have even lost the feeling that we ought to become again in spirit and in truth what we were. While we praise our fathers with our mouths, we are in heart far from them, and in our doings we stand at the very antipodes of them. We have substituted for their ability to do what was necessary, and their ignorance of what was useless, a large acquaintance with what is useless and an inability to do what is necessary. Instead of their healthy spirit, well exercised in mother-wit, we have forms, not so much of thinking as of verbal expressions about what has been thought, which suck the blood out of good sense, like a marten that fixes itself upon the neck of a poor dove. We no longer know our neighbours, our fellow-citizens, or even our poor relations; but we make up for it by reading the newspapers and periodicals, by learning the genealogical register of the kings of the world, the anecdotes of courts, of the theatre, and of capital cities, and we raise ourselves to a daily change in our political and religious opinions, as in our clothes, running, on one side, from infidelity to *capucinade*, and from *capucinade* to infidelity, just as, on the other side, we run from sans-culottism to tight-lacing and leading-strings. Our fathers cultivated a general, simple, and powerful intellect; but few of them troubled themselves with researches into higher truths, which are difficult to fathom: we do very little indeed towards rendering ourselves capable of cultivating a general and profound spirit of thought and research; but we all learn to talk a great deal about sublime and almost unfathomable truths, and strive very zealously to get to read the results of the profoundest thinking in the popular descriptions of almanacs and daily pamphlets, and to put them into the mouth of John Bull* generally. Among our fathers, every honest man sought to do one thing well at least, namely, the work of his calling, and every man might with honor learn every trade; now our notables are mostly born to their callings. Numberless individuals are ashamed of the rank and profession of their fathers, and believe themselves to be called to pry into and carp at the professional knowledge of all ranks; and the habit of prating about all professions and dis-

* Pestalozzi here uses the favorite appellation of an Englishman for the personified *vox populi* of any country.—TR.

charging one's own imperfectly is becoming more general every day, among both the notable and unnotable men of our time. All spirit of political strength has fled from amongst us. In the present state of society we no longer ask what we really are, but what we possess and what we know, and how we may set out all our possessions and knowledge for show, put them up for sale, and barter them for the means of feasting ourselves, so that we may tickle our palates with the refined enjoyments of all the five divisions of the globe, whose appetites must by such conduct be almost inevitably engendered in us. And when we have in this way succeeded in rendering ourselves powerless and degraded in body and soul, in respect to the pure claims of the humanity of our nature and of the eternal and divine essence which lies at its foundation,—then, in the state of debility and giddiness into which the fever has thrown us, we further seek to force up the appearance of a character whose truth and purity we entirely lack. In this state, we seek to cover over the outward appearances of our debility and desolation by a violent employment of the means of adjustment and concealment, which kill heart and spirit and humanity; and verily we have sunk to the employment of such means in many matters connected with the education of the people and the relief of the poor. Thus it is that we kill, in ourselves, the very essence of the powers of the soul, those human gifts divine; and then, when a shadow of the powers which we have killed flutters in us, we ornament the works of its fluttering with golden frames, and hang them up in splendid apartments, whose shining floors are unable to bear any of the good works of the ordinary life of man."

In another place, Pestalozzi says: "The gardener plants and waters, but God giveth the increase." It is not the educator that implants any faculty in man; it is not the educator that gives breath and life to any faculty: he only takes care that no external influence shall fetter and disturb the natural course of the development of man's individual faculties. "The moral, the spiritual, and the artistic capabilities of our nature must grow out of themselves, and by no means out of the results produced by art, which has been mixed up with their education. Faith must be called forth again by faith, and not by the knowledge of what is believed; thinking must be called forth again by thinking, and not by the knowledge of what is thought, or of the laws of thinking; love must be called forth again by loving, and not by the knowledge of what is lovable or of love itself; and art must be called forth again by ability, and not by endless talk about ability."

The reader can judge from the passages just cited whether any degree of youthful freshness still lingered in the mind and heart of the old man of seventy-three.*

But his "unrivalled incapacity to govern," as he himself calls it, did not forsake him.† He established a poor school in 1818 at Clindy,

* I shall cite two more passages from this address further on, for the elucidation of Pestalozzi's religious views.

† "I was to represent the abbot in a monastery (says Pestalozzi), and really, in certain respects, I was more fitted for the donkey, or at least the sheep, of the monastery, than for the abbot. My friends, I speak out plainly."

in the vicinity of Yverdun ; a commencement was made with twelve boys. "They were to be brought up as poor boys," says Pestalozzi, "and receive that kind of instruction and training which is suitable for the poor." But after a short time, children were admitted to board in the establishment, at a fee of twelve louis d'or per annum ; and in a few months the number of these pupils rose to thirty. It may be easily imagined that the presence of paying boarders would of itself destroy the character of the place as a school for the poor. But this result was occasioned in a still higher degree by some remarkably stupid experiments in teaching. An Englishman,* of the name of Greaves, visited Yverdun in 1819 ; he offered to teach these poor Swiss children English without remuneration, and his offer was accepted. On this step Pestalozzi himself remarks : "This created an impression, which, considering the original destination of these children, led us very far astray." To the instruction in English was added soon after instruction in French and Latin. Pestalozzi says, the poor children had made extraordinary progress in the elementary subjects. He adds, nevertheless, "I had no longer an establishment for the poor ; but, on the contrary, two scientific ones, which I could not now allow to remain separated. Thus the so-called poor school at Clindy was amalgamated with the institution at Yverdun." According to Pestalozzi's account, the poor scholars were "models worthy of imitation" to the pupils of the institution, especially in their acquirements. Many of them were employed as teachers. "The instruction which was given by the pupils of our poor school (says he) was preferred, on account of its solid and natural character, to that of the most accomplished among the elder teachers of our house." (!) They threw their strength chiefly into arithmetic and geometry. Is it to be wondered at, that these poor children soon began to place themselves on a level with the children of the institution, and liked playing with them out of school hours better than chopping wood and carting manure ;—that, instructed in three foreign languages, they did not like the idea of becoming masters of poor schools, and of having learnt Latin to no purpose ?

Pestalozzi acknowledged, when it was too late, "that the establishment had taken such a direction that it was no longer to be looked upon as a poor school, but as a school for imparting the elements of a scientific education." The particular reason of the failure had been "that these children were led into acquirements, habits, pretensions, dreams, and appetites, which did not suit the character of their original destination, and even tended to unfit them for it."

Pestalozzi's unhappy disputes with Niederer and others went on uninterruptedly during this time. At last a reconciliation was brought about through the noble exertions of deputy governor Du Thou. On the 31st of December, 1823, Niederer wrote an apology to Schmid in the name of Krüsi and himself, in which, at the same time, it was said that any future dispute should be settled by an arbiter.

Unfortunately, newspapers and controversial writings of those years

* A second Englishman entered the establishment the same year, as the religious instructor of the English pupils who had been admitted. Later, "above half a dozen poor children" were even sent from England to the school !

have made the public only too well acquainted with this dispute. Pestalozzi's worst enemies could not have conceived anything that would have been more calculated to damp the public enthusiasm for him.

Who would like to undertake the task of placing before readers the details of these unfortunate occurrences, especially when it is considered that they almost exclusively concerned private interests? On February 1st, 1823, Pestalozzi wrote to Niederer a conciliatory letter, which shines forth in the midst of this lawsuit like a brilliant gem out of the mire. I give the following passage from this letter with pleasure:—

"DEAR MR. NIEDERER,*—Call to mind what we once hoped from each other and what we were to each other. I would again hope from you what I formerly hoped, and I would again be to you what I formerly was. But we must make the way to this possible for each other; we must help each other to clear the way to it, each from the point on which he stands. Let us do this. Above all, let us, without circumlocution and without condition, forgive each other, and unite with a pure intention in true love, in true friendship, and in an undertaking which will be for our mutual happiness. Niederer, become again as far as you can my old Niederer—such as you were twenty years ago. Madame Niederer, be also to me again something of what you were then. I will readily be to both of you again, as far as I can, what I then was. How I long for the time when our hearts shall bring us to ourselves again, and when, in the path of real self-knowledge, we shall attain to love, which is equally our duty as Christians, and the pressing need of our condition. Oh! Niederer, how I long for the time when, strengthened and sanctified by this renewed love, we shall be able to go once more to the Holy Sacrament, when the festival comes round, without having to fear that the entire commune in which we live, scandalized by our conduct, will shudder at our coming to the Lord's table, and will cast upon us looks of indignation as well as pity. Oh! Niederer, the path of this renewed love is the only one which will lead to true honor, as it is also the only one which will lead to the restoration of a lost semblance of honor. Oh! Niederer, think not that the tricks and chicanery of law can ever bring us to the pinnacle of honor to which we can raise ourselves by the restoration of our love. My old friend, let us make clean the inside of the platter, before we trouble ourselves about the false glitter of the outside."

These lamentable lawsuits had naturally the worst influence on the hybrid institution. Pestalozzi felt this most painfully, and thought that his poor school would succeed, if he could only transfer it from unlucky Verdun to Neuhof, in the canton of Argovia—the same Neuhof where, many years before, he had made his first important educational experiments. He had a new house built there for the purpose.

Each of the poor children who had been admitted into the school had bound himself to remain in it five years, from 1818 till 1823. The five years ran out. Pestalozzi confidently hoped that many of these children would follow him to Neuhof, and form the nucleus of the new establishment. But not one remained. As I have already remarked, they had imbibed grander ideas from the instruction which they had enjoyed, and they sought to make their fortune in other ways. "They considered it," says Pestalozzi, "beneath their dignity to be appointed teachers in a Pestalozzian poor school at Neuhof." When at last even a favorite pupil of his rejected all his offers, and went away clandestinely

* In November, 1824, the lawsuit which has been mentioned was terminated by arbitration.

from Yverdun, the old man's heart was full. "The illusion, in my mind," he says, "as to the possibility of transplanting to Neuhof an establishment in Yverdun of which not an inch was in reality any longer mine, was now entirely dispelled. To resign myself to this conviction, required me to do no less than abandon all my hopes and aims in regard to this project, as for me completely unattainable. I did so at last, and on March 17th, 1824, I announced my total inability further to fulfil the expectations and hopes which I had excited, by my projected poor school, in the hearts of so many philanthropists and friends of education."

At length, in the year 1825, Pestalozzi also broke up the institution, after it had stood for a quarter of a century; and he returned, an old man of eighty years, and tired of life, to Neuhof, where, exactly half a century before, he had begun his first poor school. "Verily," he says, "it was as if I were putting an end to my life itself by this return, so much pain did it give me."

10. PESTALOZZI'S LAST YEARS.—1825 TO 1827.

Pestalozzi had but one child, a son, who was born in 1770, and died at the early age of twenty-four, leaving a son himself.* This grandson of Pestalozzi was in possession of the estate of Neuhof; to him the old man went.

In these last years of his life, he wrote the "Song of the Dying Swan" and the "Fortunes of my Life." He looked back with deep pain on so many shipwrecked enterprises, and acknowledged that the blame was his, as the wreck had been brought on by his incompetency to manage the helm. He speaks, as we have seen, with equal candor of his fellow-workers.

These last writings of Pestalozzi have been regarded by many as the melancholy and languid outpourings of the heart of a dying old man. As far as concerns the old man's judgments on the institution, as it was at the time of my stay at Yverdun, I have already remarked that I consider them for the most part highly truthful, and as affording evidence that he was not deficient in manly clearness and penetration even in his old age.

In May of the year 1825, he was elected President of the Helvetian Society of Shinznach, of which he was the oldest member. The following year he delivered a lecture before the Education Society of Brugg, on "The simplest means which art can employ to educate the child, from the cradle to the sixth year, in the domestic circle." Thus the gentle influence of home education remained to the last the object of his love, as it had been fifty-six years before, when he wrote "Leonard and Gertrude."

On the 21st of July, 1826, Pestalozzi, in company with Schmid, visited the establishment of the excellent Zeller in Bruggen. The children received him with singing. An oak wreath was handed to him, but he did not accept it: "Not to me," he said, "but to Innocence belongs the wreath." The children sang to him the song by Goethe which he has introduced into "Leonard and Gertrude."

* The widow, an excellent woman, subsequently married a Mr. Kuster, and remained attached to Pestalozzi with true affection.

[The Translator subjoins this song, with the simple and beautiful music, as printed in "Leonard and Gertrude."]

Thou that art from highest skies, Ev'-ry storm and
sor - row still-ing; Hearts that dou - bled an - guish tries
Dou - bly with thy sweet - ness fill - ing: On the waves of
pas - sion dri - ven, Oh, how longs my soul for rest!
Peace of Hea - ven, Come, oh come, with - in my breast.

Tears choked the voice of the old man.

From his youth, Pestalozzi had been weakly in constitution, and he had repeatedly suffered severe attacks of illness. In the year 1806, he was suddenly knocked down in the street by the pole of a carriage, and trampled under foot by the horses. "It is a great wonder," he said in an address on New Year's Day, 1808, "that I was saved from under the horses' feet. See, they tore the clothes from off my back, but did not touch my body."

In the year 1812, he suffered very severely for a long time from accidentally running a knitting needle into his ear.

But, notwithstanding slight ailments and dangerous accidents, his life was prolonged to a very advanced age.

At length he approached the end of his earthly existence. Some time before his death, he said: "I forgive my enemies; may they find peace now that I go to eternal rest. I should like to have lived another month, to have completed my last labors; but I again thank God, who in His Providence calls me away from this earthly scene. And you, my children, remain in quiet attachment to one another, and seek for happiness in the domestic circle." Soon after, he breathed his last. He had lain ill only a few days. On the 15th of February, 1827, he had been removed from his country house to the town of Brugg, in order that he might be nearer to his physician; on the morning of the 17th he died, after violent paroxysms of fever; and on the 19th he was buried. His corpse was carried past the new poor school which he had begun to build but could not complete, and was interred with a quiet and modest funeral service at the village of Birr. Few strangers attended his funeral, for the snow lay thick on the ground, and his interment took place sooner than might have been expected; the news of his death had scarcely been received in the canton of Argovia. Schoolmasters and children from the surrounding villages sang their thanks to the departed in artless strains over his grave.*

11. PESTALOZZI AND CHRISTIANITY.

Pestalozzi rests from the labors of his toilsome life.

At the grave, a sabbath stillness sets in; we look back upon the past, but, at the same time, we look forwards into the eternal life of the departed, and ask whether, in time, he seriously prepared himself for eternity—whether all the labors of his life were done in the Lord, and whether he died in the Lord.

Not as severe judges do we ask, but in all the humility of co-redeemed sinful fellow-men; we ask with the fond wish that he may be blessed eternally.

In a letter written in the year 1793, Pestalozzi says, "Wavering between *feelings*, which drew me towards religion, and *opinions*, which led me away from it, I went the dead way of my time; I let the essential part of religion grow cold in my inmost heart, without really deciding against religion."

That is the judgment which he pronounced upon himself in his forty-eighth year; at the time of Robespierre, when the earthy political element reigned to such a degree in the minds of men, that no quiet abode remained for the religious element.

The "Evening Hour of a Hermit," written thirteen years earlier, when the world was more tranquil, and as yet not off its hinges, contains passages which are penetrated with true Christian unction. To these belongs especially the concluding passage of the whole, already quoted, in which Pestalozzi speaks of Christ as "the Son of God, who with suffering and death has restored to mankind the universally lost feeling of filial love towards God—the Redeemer of the World—the sacrificed Priest of the Lord—the Mediator between God and sinful mankind;" and of his doctrine as "the revelation of God the Father to the lost race of his children."

But other passages of this paper, enticing as they sound, are at va-

* Heussler.

riance with essential doctrines of Christianity. Thus the one in which Pestalozzi says, "Faith in God, thou art the pure sense of Simplicity —the ear of Innocence listening to the voice of Nature, which proclaims that God is father."

Where is the ear of Innocence to be found? The Scripture saith: "There is none righteous, no, not one: There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one." (Romans iii., 10, 11, 12.)

Where is the ear of Innocence? If it were to be found among men, then it might certainly hear a voice of Nature, proclaiming that God is father. In that case, the heathen also might have prayed, "Our father." But nowhere do we find the slightest evidence that the ancients loved their gods, not to say God, with filial love.

And, could man by nature love God, to what purpose were Christ the restorer of the lost filial love of mankind? But this very expression itself appears to me to be almost a euphemism for "The LORD hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." (Isaiah liii., 6.)

We saw, in considering the book, "How Gertrude teaches her children," how deep an influence Pestalozzi's notion of the innocence of children exercised upon his educational theory; like Rousseau, he wanted to gather figs of thistles. Did he retain this notion to the end of his life? We shall answer this question in the negative.

In "Leonard and Gertrude," all the stress is laid upon active Christianity, love is *occasionally* placed almost in opposition to faith; a dead, hypocritical faith not being always distinguished with sufficient exactitude from true faith, which is active in love. The clergyman in Leonard and Gertrude is an honest man, but strongly inclined to mere moralizing; his care of his flock is more that of a faithful personal friend, than of one acting in the spirit and strength of a church.

In the "Researches," Christianity is styled a religion of morality—an effort to make the spirit subdue the flesh. If, according to the letter cited, Pestalozzi wavered between feelings, which drew him towards religion, and opinions, which led him away from it, both feeling and Christianity give place, in the work just mentioned, to this belabored product of the intellect.

In the book, "How Gertrude teaches her children," the educational theory is, as we have seen, extremely weak on the religious side; it is more a rhetorical theory of intellectual development, estranged from Christ.

But in this book, also, Pestalozzi's feeling repeatedly glances through; there stand forth the aim and yearning desire of his toilsome life, the depth of a love which brought upon the poor helpless man countless sorrows, and almost drove him to despair. From the depths of his necessity, he then cries to God, praying, hoping, offering up his thanks: "Friend," he writes to Gesner, "let me now for a moment forget my aim and my labors, and abandon myself entirely to the feeling of melancholy which comes over me, when I remember that I still live, though I am no longer myself. I have lost everything, I have lost myself; nevertheless, thou, O Lord, hast preserved in me the desires of my life, and hast not shattered to pieces before my eyes the aim of my sufferings, as thou hast shattered the aim of thousands of men, who

corrupted themselves in their own ways. Thou hast preserved to me the work of my life, in the midst of my own ruin, and hast caused to arise upon me, in my hopeless declining age, an evening brightness, the sight of whose loveliness outweighs the sufferings of my life. Lord, I am not worthy of the mercy and faithfulness which thou hast shown towards me. Thou, thou alone, hast had mercy on the trampled worm ; thou alone hast not broken the bruised reed ; thou alone hast not quenched the smoking flax ; and hast not, to the latest period of my life, turned away thy face from the offering, which from childhood I have desired to bring to the forsaken in the land, but have never been able to bring."

Before I consider the religious character of Pestalozzi's later works, I will first look at that of his institution. It is best delineated by Ramsauer. He entered the institution at Burgdorf in 1800, as a boy of ten years ; he left it at the age of twenty-six, as head teacher, when he went from Yverdun to Würzburg. Thus he had, both as a learner and as a teacher, become acquainted with the religious tendency of the institution. When, in later years, the deep truth and solemn sanctity of Christianity dawned upon his awakened conscience, which impelled him to self-knowledge, then first did he learn to form a just estimate of that religious tendency. He narrates as follows :—

" In Burgdorf, an active and entirely new mode of life opened to me ; there reigned so much love and simplicity in the institution, the life was so genial—I could almost say patriarchal ; not much was learned, it is true, but Pestalozzi was the father, and the teachers were the friends of the pupils ; Pestalozzi's morning and evening prayers had such a fervor and simplicity, that they carried away every one who took part in them ; he prayed fervently, read and explained Gellert's hymns impressively, exhorted each of the pupils individually to private prayer, and saw that some pupils said aloud in the bedrooms, every evening, the prayers which they had learned at home, while he explained, at the same time, that the mere repeating of prayers by rote was worthless, and that every one should rather pray from his own heart. Such exhortations became more and more rare at Yverdun, and the praying aloud ceased altogether, like so much else that had a genial character. We all felt that more must be learned than at Burgdorf ; but we all fell, in consequence, into a restless pushing and driving, and the individual teachers into a scramble after distinction. Pestalozzi, indeed, remained the same noble-hearted old man, wholly forgetting himself, and living only for the welfare of others, and infusing his own spirit into the entire household : but, as it arose not so much from the religious arrangements and from Pestalozzi's principles, as from his personal character, that so genial a life had prevailed at Burgdorf, that spirit could not last long, it could not gain strength and elevate itself into a Christian spirit. On the other hand, so long as the institution was small, Pestalozzi could, by his thoroughly amiable personal character, adjust at once every slight discordance ; he stood in much closer relation with every individual member of the circle, and could thus observe every peculiarity of disposition, and influence it according to necessity. This ceased when the family life was transformed in the institution into a constitutional state existence. Now the individual was more easily lost in the crowd : thus there arose a desire, on the part

of each, to make himself felt and noticed. Egotism made its appearance every day in more pointed forms. Envy and jealousy rankled in the breasts of many. The instruction, calculated only for the development of the mind, nourished feelings of selfishness and pride; and the counterpoise, which only the fear of God could have given, was not known. Instead of being told that only *that* teacher could labor with God's blessing who had attained to the knowledge and the belief of the highest truths, and had thus come to see that he was nothing of himself, but that he had to thank God for whatever he was enabled to be or to do, and that every Christian, but especially the educator, had daily cause to pray to God for patience, love, and humility, and for wisdom in doing and avoiding; instead of this, we heard day after day that man could do every thing that he wished, that he could do every thing of himself, and that he alone could help himself. Had the otherwise so noble Pestalozzi made the Bible the foundation of all moral and religious education, I verily believe that the institution would still have been in existence, even as those institutions are still in existence and working with success which were founded by Franke, upwards of one hundred years ago, with small means, but in full reliance on God. But, instead of making the pupils familiar with the Bible, Pestalozzi, and those of his assistants who gave the so-called religious instruction, or conducted the so-called morning and evening prayers, fell more and more in each succeeding year into a mere empty moralizing; and hence it may be understood how it could happen that I grew up in this institution, was confirmed there, and for sixteen years led a very active and morally good life, without acquiring even the slightest acquaintance with the word of God. I did, indeed, many a time hear the Bible named, and even heard Pestalozzi complain that nobody read it, and say that in his youth things had been better in this respect; at the domestic worship on Sundays, and during my confirmation instruction, I also frequently heard individual texts read and arbitrarily explained; but neither I nor any other of the young men obtained any idea of the sacredness and connexion of God's word. Just as Pestalozzi, by the force of his personal character, attached most of his assistants to himself for years, so that they forgot themselves as he forgot himself, when good was to be done, so also, and much more, might he have inspired them for the Gospel, and the blessing of God would then have rested on him and them, and the institution would have become a Christian seminary. It would not have been necessary on this account to hang out a sign-board with the words "Christian Educational Institution" displayed upon it: on the contrary, the more quietly and modestly Pestalozzi and his assistants had conducted themselves, the more effectively would they have worked, and even the most noisy blusterer would soon have come to perceive how very little he could be and do of himself, and thus would have become capable of learning something from strangers. Perhaps some person or other may be disposed to reproach me with one-sidedness, injustice, or even ingratitude, towards Pestalozzi, and to oppose to my testimony the fact that at Yverdun Pestalozzi employed every Friday morning principally in representing Jesus to us as the great exemplar of love and self-sacrifice; or I may be asked whether I have quite forgotten the zeal with which Niederer often gave the confirmation instruction.

"But, in reply to this, I can only refer to the facts which I have just detailed."

I could add but little to this statement of Ramsauer. When I was in the institution, the religious instruction was given by Niederer, but no stranger was allowed to be present at it. We may form a tolerably correct notion, however, of the manner in which he gave it, from what is said on the subject in the "Report to the Parents."*

"All the elder pupils (says the report) receive positive religious instruction twice a week. The guiding thread that is used for this purpose is the course of the religious development of the human race, as described in the Holy Scriptures, from the Mosaic records downwards, and, based on this, the pure doctrines of Jesus Christ, as he announced them in his Gospel. We base the teaching of moral duties chiefly on Christ's sermon on the mount, and the teaching of doctrines chiefly on St. John's Gospel. The latter is read connectedly, and explained from itself and from Christ's eternal fundamental view of God and of himself, as the visible image and representative of the godhead and the godlike, of the relation of mankind to God, and of the life in God. We seek, by the example of Christ, and by the manner in which he viewed and treated men and things and their relations, to awaken in the children an intuitive leaning towards the life and conduct, the belief and hope, which are founded in the unchangeable nature of religion, and to render these things habitual to them, and, by the development of those graces through which the Father shone in Him, to raise them to such a mind and mode of life, that God may shine in them also. We do not combat religious error, but endeavor to impart only religious truth. We seek the ground of all dogmas and the source of all religious views in the nature of religion, in the nature of man, and in his propensities, powers, wants, and relations, in order that the child may learn to distinguish the truth in every garb and the substance in every form. The course pursued for the attainment of the last-named object, or the elementary religious instruction, preparatory to the positive doctrines of revelation, is based specially on the solution of the following questions : 1. What is the original religious capability in human nature, or what are the elements of all religious development and education, in so far as they exist in man himself, and proceed from him as something implanted in him by God ? These elements are perceptions and feelings. 2. By what means and in what manner must these primitive religious perceptions and feelings necessarily be excited and brought to consciousness in him ? Here it is especially the relation to father and mother, to nature, and to society, that is regarded as a means of religious excitation and education. 3. By what means and in what manner does man originally and necessarily express the religious perceptions and feelings excited in him ? And to what does all this lead man ? We find here principally the expression of the religious disposition as a gesture ; the expression of the religious notion as a word ; the expression of the religious contemplation as an image. The first develops itself as ceremony, the second as instruction and doctrine, the last as symbol and image-worship. With the course of this development is connected the development of what utters itself

* There is no doubt that this passage is from Niederer's pen.

unchangeably in human nature as veritable and eternal religion, everywhere operative, and of what, as sensual degeneracy, errors of the passions, and personal depravity, leads to superstition and infidelity, to idolatry and image-worship, to hypocritical self-delusion and deception of others, and lastly, to the contemptuous rejection of all that is divine and sacred. The pupil finds the key to the clear comprehension of this in the intuitive consciousness of the awaking and course of his own feelings, in the impressions which things make on his own mind, and in the religious arrangements by which he is surrounded. As matter of fact, the whole is exemplified in the history of the religious culture of mankind. The indication thereof, or the thread to which the explanation must be attached, in giving the instruction, exists in the language of every nation. The most important results to be accomplished by the instruction are : That the pupil shall lay hold of the true and the eternal in their origin ; that he shall look upon the human race as essentially religious, and as an organic whole, developing itself according to necessary and divine laws ; that, understanding also in its origin and in its consequences the fall from God and the god-like, he shall all the more earnestly and faithfully follow the way of return to God and to the life in Him, so that, being thus prepared, he may comprehend the worship of God in spirit and in truth, the significance of the eternal Gospel ; so that he may attain to an inward godly existence, as he lives outwardly in an intelligent existence."

I have quoted the whole of this passage, because it shows how far the religious instruction was removed from all believing fervor and childlike simplicity, from Christian simplicity, as we meet with it in Luther's small catechism. But this passage characterizes only the religious instruction in the institution, and by no means Pestalozzi's religious views and practice.

Still it is clear that at Yverdun he also had in view much less moral education than intellectual. He wished, by means of the latter, to lay before the world striking results of the method ; but how shall he show passing strangers the results of moral education, a humble mind and a loving heart, or shall he even expose them rudely to public gaze by an examination ? To which was added, that in the multitude of boys he despaired of being able to take each one individually to his heart as a father would do, who never loves his children only *en masse*.

I now return to Pestalozzi's writings, and come to those which he wrote in his old age.

In several of his addresses to the inmates of his house, there are passages which bear witness that even during the years which he passed at Yverdun, Christianity still lived in his inmost soul ; peaceful sabbath and festival tones soar above the restless and noisy week-day work. So in his Christmas address of 1810.*

" I have been told by old people (he said), and I have partly seen myself, that Christmas Eve used to be a night like no other. The day of the highest earthly joy was not its shadow. The anniversary of the deliverance of the country from slavery, the anniversary of freedom, was not to be compared to it. It was quite a heavenly night, a night of heavenly joy. In its still service dedicated to God, resounded

* I heard this address myself.

the words: ‘Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.’ When the angels still assembled, as it were, over the heads of men, at this hour, and praised God that the Saviour of the world was born,—what a night was Christmas Eve! Who can describe its joy? Who can tell its bliss? The earth was, on that night, transformed into a heaven. On that night, God was celebrated on high, peace was on earth, and men showed a cheerful good will. Brothers, friends, children, could I but carry you back into the old Christian world, and show you the celebration of this hour in the days of innocence and faith, when half the world still accounted it a small thing to die for the faith in Christ Jesus! Could I but show you the joy of Christmas Eve in the picture of those days! The heart full of the Holy Ghost, and the hand full of human gifts—thus stood the Christian at this hour in the circle of his brethren. Thus stood the mother in the circle of her children. Thus stood the master in the circle of his workmen—the gentleman in the circle of his own people. Thus stood the commune before their pastor—thus went the rich man into the chamber of the poor. At this hour, enemy held out to enemy the hand of reconciliation. The sinner knelt down and wept over his transgressions, and rejoiced in the Saviour, who forgave him his sins. The hour of heavenly joy was the hour of heavenly sanctification. The earth was a heavenly earth, and the abode of mortal men emitted odors of immortal life.” “May the joy of this hour, may the joy at the birth of our Redeemer, so elevate us, that Jesus Christ may now appear to us as the visible divine love, as he sacrificed himself and gave himself up to death for us. May we rejoice in the hour in which he became man, because he brought into the world for us the great gift of his life, and laid it upon the altar of divine love. From this hour, he was the priest of the Lord, sacrificed for us. Friends, brothers, sisters, let us pray: O God, give us them again, those fair days of the world, in which the human race truly rejoiced in the birth of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer. Give us again the times in which the hearts of men were, at this hour, full of the Holy Ghost, and their hands full of human gifts for their brethren. Father in heaven, thou wilt give us them again, if we truly desire them.”

In the address already mentioned, which Pestalozzi delivered in 1818, when he was seventy-two years old, occur passages which make a profound impression on the mind. He there declares that happiness is to be expected from Christianity alone. “The artificial spirit of our times (he says) has also annihilated the influence which the religious feeling of our fathers exercised upon this centre of human happiness. This religious spirit, which caused the happiness of the quiet and circumscribed domestic relations, has sunk down amongst us into an insolent spirit of reasoning upon all that is sacred and divine; still we must also acknowledge that the prime source of the real poison of our artificiality, namely, the irreligious feeling of the present age, seems to be shaken in the very depths of its destructive powers; the blessed spirit of the true Christian doctrine appears to strike deeper root again in the midst of the corruption of our race, and to preserve inward purity of life in thousands and thousands of men, and, indeed, with regard to popular education, it is from this quarter alone that we can derive the expectation, that we shall ever attain to measures really calcu-

lated to reach with sufficient efficacy the views, dispositions, appetites, and habits of our present mode of life, which we must look upon as the original source of our popular depravity and the misfortunes of our times."

The conclusion of the address is particularly important:—"Friends, brothers, become renovators of my house, restorers of its old spirit, and witnesses that the spirit of my youth, which is seen blossoming in 'Leonard and Gertrude,' and nearer maturity in 'How Gertrude teaches her children,' still lives in me. In that spirit, become joint founders of the present result of the old original, philanthropic and beneficent purpose of my institution. In that spirit, and in no other, I call you all, who are members of my institution, to a sacred union in and through love. Love one another, as Jesus Christ loved us. 'Love suffereth long, and is kind; love enviyeth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' Friends, brothers, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you. Heap coals of fire on the heads of your enemies. Let not the sun go down upon your wrath. If thou bring thy gift to the altar, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift. All unrelenting severity, even towards those who do us wrong, be far from our house. Let all human severity be lost in the gentleness of our faith. Let no one among you attempt to excuse his severity towards those who are in the wrong. Let no one say that Jesus Christ did not love those who did wrong. He did love them. He loved them with divine love. He died for them. He came not to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance. He did not find sinners faithful, but made them faithful. He did not find them humble, but made them humble, by his own humility. Verily, verily, it was with the high and holy service of his humility that he conquered the pride of sinners, and chained them by faith to the heart of his divine love. Friends, brothers, if we do this, if we love one another, as Jesus Christ loved us, we shall overcome all the obstacles which stand in the way of our life's purpose, and be able to ground the welfare of our institution upon the everlasting rock, on which God himself has built the welfare of the human race, through Jesus Christ. Amen."

At the grave, I have asked after Pestalozzi's confession of faith ; I have sought it in his writings, as well as in his life, and communicated to the reader what he himself confessed in 1793 about his Christianity at that period of his life, when, perhaps, he had separated himself furthest from Christ, and lived only in a speculative and political element. "Wavering (so went the confession) between feelings which drew me towards religion, and opinions which led me away from it, I went the dead way of my time." This confession we have found confirmed in his writings, as in his life ; but in his earliest, and again in his latest writings, religious feeling has been seen soaring above a sceptical intellect. And throughout his long life how high soars a love which would not despair under any suffering, any ingratitude ; how high it soars above all doubts, in the pure air of heaven ! Men are seduced into infidelity by superficial reflection, which, misapprehending and

over-estimating the measure of insight possible to man, fails to judge aright where a clear self-knowledge believes with intelligent resignation. But Christ, who takes the strong for his spoil, reigns ever in the inmost heart of Christians as *episcopus in partibus infidelium*; even in times, when their faith wavers, he remains faithful to them. This we see in Pestalozzi, both in his words and in his works.

12. RETROSPECT.



Who shall dare cast a stone at him, who shall dare condemn him? To him shall much be forgiven, for he loved much. Aye, the whole of his toilsome life is pervaded by love—by a yearning desire to alleviate the condition of the poor suffering people. That love was the passion of his heart; it kindled in him a burning anger against all who stood in the way of the attainment of its object.

It is true, that the chief obstacle in his way was himself. With God, counsel and action go together; with men, they are only too often separated. Thus we have seen that Pestalozzi, with the clearest knowledge of men, was incapable of managing and governing them; with the most amiable ideals, he was blind when he had to show the way to those ideals. Nay, in endeavouring to realize his great conceptions, he frequently took the course most opposed to them.

No one was farther than he was from a cleanly domestic existence; yet no one desired such an existence more earnestly, or understood its value better, than he did. The delineations of Gertrude's house-keeping prove that a poet can truthfully depict not only what he possesses in full degree, but what he longs for with his whole heart because he lacks it altogether.

He passed the greater part of his life in pressing want; thus he could scarcely fail to feel a true and spontaneous sympathy with the poor and abandoned.

If he was cynical in evil days from necessity; in better days, he was so on principle. Corresponding to the bodily cynicism, there was in the character of his mind, something which I would call, not spiritual poverty, but intellectual cynicism: an aversion to the aristocracy of education. And yet, as one of the contradictions of which his character is full, he felt himself called to lay new foundations under the lofty structure of this education, instead of the old pernicious ones. He wanted to support the upper storey of the building, without troubling himself about that storey itself. On one occasion, he even made it the subject of a boast, that he had not read a book for thirty years.

Hence it came, as I have already said, that he committed so many mistakes usual with self-taught men. He wants the historical basis; things which others had discovered long before appear to him to be quite new when thought of by himself or any one of his teachers. He also torments himself to invent things which had been invented and brought to perfection long before, and might have been used by him, if he had only known of them. For example, how useful an acquaintance with the excellent Werner's treatment of the mineralogical characters of rocks would have been to him, especially in the definition of the ideas, observation, naming, description, &c. As a self-taught

man, he every day collected heaps of stones in his walks. If he had been under the discipline of the Freiberg school, the observation of a single stone would have profited him more, than large heaps of stones, laboriously brought together, could do, in the absence of any such discipline.

Self-taught men, I say, want the discipline of the school. It is not simply that in the province of the intellectual, they often find only after long wanderings what they might easily have attained by a direct and beaten path; they want also the ethical discipline, which restrains us from running according to caprice after intellectual enjoyments, and wholesomely compels us to deny ourselves and follow the path indicated to us by the teacher.

Many, it is true, fear that the oracular instinct of the self-taught might suffer from the school. But, if the school is of the right sort, this instinct, if genuine, will be strengthened by it; deepfelt, dreamy, and passive presentiments are transfigured into sound, waking, and active observation.

This self-taught character of Pestalozzi's mind showed itself in his treatment of several branches of instruction. What are his names of towns, which he takes in alphabetical order from the index of a geography book, without possessing any knowledge of the subject; what are the heaps of words transcribed from Scheller's Lexicon: what else are they but the trifles of an undisciplined mind, to find out new ways of writing schoolbooks?

But, when the self-taught man forsakes the old highways, he finds, in spite of much going astray, many short by-ways, the knowledge of which is welcome to the students of the subject, and induces them to make new experiments themselves. In this manner, Pestalozzi exercised an influence even upon his adversaries.

Generally, Pestalozzi's personal influence on the methods of teaching particular subjects was small; but, on the other hand, he compelled the scholastic world to revise the whole of their task, to reflect on the nature and destiny of man, as also on the proper way of leading him from his youth towards that destiny. And this was done, not in the superficial rationalistic manner of Basedow* and his school, but so profoundly, that even a man like Fichte anticipated very great things from it.

But it is to be lamented, that the actual attempts made by Pestalozzi and his fellow-laborers to set up new methods of teaching various subjects, have met with such especial approbation and imitation. An examination of Pestalozzi's profound principles, and an insight into

* Basedow founded an educational institution called the "Philanthropin," at Dessau, in 1774. In this institution, the educational views of Rousseau, as expounded in his "Emile," were exclusively followed, and every effort made to realize them. Rousseau was at that time the pharos of many educationists in Germany and Switzerland, as he was the pharos of the men of the revolution in France. The Philanthropin excited a good deal of attention at the time. The name of the Philanthropin still survives, but it has almost become a term of reproach to signify any shallow educational enterprise. It appears, however, that, together with much that was whimsical and even foolish, the institution presented many honest and unselfish efforts on the part of faithful workers, and produced many wholesome fruits.—See Raumer's account of the *Philanthropin*.

the contradiction between these principles and his practice, would have conducted much more to the discovery of new methods, really answering to the principles. This is applicable, for instance, to what I have said upon the exercises in observation, falsely so called. Most of the imitators of the great man have fallen in love with his dark side, the endeavor to mechanise education. When those purely external appliances and artifices which he employed for mechanising education shall have been so modified as to be no longer recognizable, or shall have been entirely laid aside and forgotten—then Pestalozzi's "Leonard and Gertrude," the "Evening Hour of a Hermit," and "How Gertrude teaches her Children," will still live on and exercise an influence, though even these works, like everything else that is human, are not altogether free from spot or blemish. Profound thoughts, born of a holy love under severe pains, they are thoughts of eternal life, and, like love, shall never cease.

THE END.







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